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James H. Wanklyn

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CLX.

ART. I.—SOMETHING ABOUT SNAKES AND THEIR CHARMERS, AND SNAKE-POISONS AND THEIR ANTIDOTES.

JUST a decade has passed since I attempted in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, to give a slight sketch of the literature of snake-poisoning for the past two centuries; and it has been suggested to me that a further contribution on the subject, shewing what progress has been made during the last ten years, would be of interest to the readers of the *Review*. Researches of this nature are necessarily very slowly progressive, considerable time being taken up in correcting errors of observation and of deduction. On the whole, however, more has been done to advance our knowledge of the nature of snake-poisons during the period in question, than in the course of the preceding two hundred years. As a prelude to the more critical portions of my theme, some observations upon snakes and their habits may be interesting and instructive. Much of what I have to say is, of course, not original, but rather a *réchauffage* of the materials which practical acquaintance with the subject has enabled me to gather, collate, and estimate the value of. We gather from the pages of Sir Joseph Fayrer's magnificent work, "The Thanatophia of India" that of the twenty-one families of Indian Ophiidia only four are venomous, namely, the Elapidæ and Hydrophidæ (sea-snakes) constituting the colubrine sub-order; and the Veperidæ and Crotalidæ (pit-vipers) forming the viperine sub-order. Of the colubrine snakes, the Cobra, Ophiophagus or Hamadryad, Krait (*Bungarus Cœruleus*), and the *Bungarus Fasciatus*; and of the viperine snakes the *Daboia Russellii* are the most commonly met with, and the most destructive of

human life. The cobra is found all over Hindustan, and is too well known to need description. The different species vary considerably in their markings on the hood, and in their colour. I have had in my possession specimens of all kind—from a dead-black to a yellowish-white, and even salmon colour. Nearly all cobras have a single or double ocellus upon the hood; the former, marked, are termed by the natives *Keuntiah* and the latter *Gokurah*. The *Gokurah* is the snake usually selected by snake-charmers for their *tamashas*, because its movements are slower and more under control than those of the *Keuntiah*. The latter is fond of water and its habitat is the jungle or paddy-fields; the former is not particularly partial to water, and it is to be found usually amongst old buildings or heaps of rubbish. I have never seen a cobra exceeding six feet in length, though I have had hundreds in my possession. The Ophiophagus, Hamadryad, or *Sunkerchor* of the natives, is the largest of all Indian venomous snakes, is hooded like the cobra, and lives in damp jungly places. This snake also is a favorite with the snake-charmers, because of the facility with which it is handled, and its formidable appearance. It grows the length of fourteen feet or more, is very powerful, and is said to be aggressive. It is certainly more aggressive than any other snake with which I am acquainted, but Dr. Wall and I found little more difficulty in manipulating a large fresh specimen, than in handling a fresh *Keuntia Cobra*. Indeed, the latter from its extreme activity and restlessness when first captured, is in my opinion, a more dangerous creature to manipulate. The Ophiophagus feeds, as its name implies, on other snakes, but it is doubtful whether they are its ordinary food; it, no doubt, accommodates its taste to the supply, and takes anything that falls in its way. The *Krait*—*Bungarus*, *Cæruleus*—as generally seen, is about three feet long, but it grows to the length of four feet. It is either steel-blue black or brown, striped white. I believe the colour depends upon the age of the snake, the darker one being older, as I have never yet seen a very large brown creature. It is easily recognized by its colour, and the single row of hexagonal scales running along the centre of its back. Very serious consequences have sometimes resulted from the innocent snake *Lycodon Aulicus* having been mistaken for it, though there is really little resemblance between the two. The row of hexagonal scales are, of course, wanting, and it is lighter in colour. The fangs of the *Krait* are much smaller than those of the *Cobra*. The *Bungarus Fasciatus*, *Raj Samp* of the natives, is triangular shaped, and has a prominent back, along which runs as in the only other snake, the *Krait*—a row of hexagonal scales. It has alternate bands of blue and yellow, running across its body. I have seen one six feet long, though much smaller

ones are usually met with. The natives of Eastern Bengal believe that this snake has two heads. The *Daboia Russellii*, *Shiah Chunder*, *Chundra Bora*, and *Ulubora*, of the natives of Bengal, and the Tic Polonga of Ceylon, is usually found about four feet long. It has a triangular shaped head and a distinct neck; its body is robust and its tail thin; its body has a grey or chocolate-coloured ground with black white-edged rings, some round, and others not unlike the markings on a Paisley shawl. The fangs are larger than those of any other Indian snake. It is believed that these snakes are common in Bengal, but much correspondence, and the offer of rather large rewards for live creatures have brought me only one miserable specimen during the whole year.* I think they must be rather numerous in the twenty-four Pergunnahs. The Hydrophidæ (sea snakes) are all poisonous, and may be at once recognized by their head-scales, and their peculiarities of conformation which are adapted to their aquatic mode of life. The head is small, the body robust, and the tail flattened vertically, whence they are able to swim with rapidity and grace—indeed, “to out-swim the fish.” I have found their poison very virulent; quantity for quantity, perhaps, even more deadly than that of the cobra. The species of the Hydrophidæ—the *Platurus*—differs from the rest in its general formation, and in having large ventral *scutæ*, which indicate its power of progression on land. Besides the before-mentioned there are other poisonous snakes in India, such as the *Xenurelaps*, the *Callophis*, and the *Echis Carinata*, the bite of which is said not to be fatal to man. But Sir Joseph Fayrer doubts the accuracy of the statement in reference to the last named, the poison of which he found to be fatal to a fowl in two minutes, and to a dog in four hours. We have also certain of the *Crotalidæ*—or pit Vipers—which are distinguished by the broad triangular head, short thick body, and the pit, which is situated between the eye and nostril in the loreal region. The *Trimercsuri*, the most important genus, are distinctly marked in vivid colours, and differ considerably in colour, and are said to adapt themselves to the localities in which they live—the dark one being found on the ground and the green ones amongst the foliage of trees or shrubs. Of the *Crotalidæ* the *Hals* has a caudal appendage in the form of a horny spine. I am not aware whether the tail in question is of evil repute, but I read in Miss Hopley's very entertaining book on snakes;—“Of the horn snake,” says Lawson, “I never saw but two that I remembered. They are like the rattle-snake in color, but rather lighter. They hiss exactly like

* Since writing the above, three good specimens have been sent from Midnapore.

a goose when anything approaches them. They strike at their enemy with their tail, and kill whatsoever they wound with it, which is armed at the end with a horny substance like a cock's spur. This is their weapon. I have heard it said by those who were eye-witnesses, that a small locust tree, about the thickness of a man's arm being struck by one of these snakes at ten o'clock in the morning, then verdant and flourishing, at four o'clock in the afternoon was dead and the leaves dead and withered. Doubtless, be how it will, they are very venomous." Nevertheless, this snake no more poisons with its tail than does the rattlesnake. Mr. Lawson's work was dedicated "To His Excellency, William Lord Craven, Palatine; the Most Noble Henry, Duke of Beaufort; the Right Honourable John Lord Carteret, and the rest of the True and Absolute Lords, Proprietors of the Province of Carolina in America. As a debt of gratitude, the sheets were laid at their Lordships' feet, having nothing to recommend them but truth, a gift which every author may be master of if he will." I have in my possession a rattlesnake's rattle, which was sent to me by Dr. Mitchell; it is a fair specimen, about two inches long, and when shaken makes a noise similar to that made by the shaking of a "dry bean pod." When I showed this to a friend, he exclaimed "What, is that all!" I thought the thing made a noise like a policeman's rattle;" and so, I imagine, do many of my readers. (A very fine specimen of a rattle is figured in Miss Hopley's work.) As regards the habits of snakes Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, the distinguished American physician and physiologist, tells us that he had an opportunity of observing the habits of the *Crotalus durissus* when in captivity for a period of two years. The rattlesnake of the Northern States of America when at liberty, sometimes lives in the company of its fellows, but more frequently alone. In this particular it resembles our Indian snakes; though it is worthy of note, that if a collection of snakes is kept as nearly as possible in their natural state, where snakes are at all common, they will undoubtedly attract other snakes. Rattlesnakes, we are told, show no hostility towards one another, even when ten to thirty-five are kept in a box together, and, even when fresh snakes were dropped upon those in captivity, no attempt was made to annoy the new-comers. This is also the case with most Indian snakes, especially vipers. But I have kept sixty to seventy cobras in a pit together, and they very often, on the slightest provocation, began to fight in a most savage and curious fashion. On being provoked several commenced to hiss fiercely, and some would raise themselves up, expand their hoods, and begin a vigorous attack in all directions, and

after making several ineffectual darts,—for they are by no means so skilful at taking aim as is generally believed—two would catch each other by the mouth, rapidly entwine themselves as it were, and after wriggling and struggling about in this state for some time, relax their hold. Then one would be seen gliding away, vanquished, to the corner of the cage, while the triumphant one raised to its full balancing height, hissed out its challenge for a renewal of the combat. In what consisted of getting the worst of it I could never discover, as neither of the combatants ever seemed any the worse for the fight; nor can I understand why one snake dreads another if no danger is involved.* The head is almost invariably the point of attack, though less injury could be inflicted by the fangs there, than in several parts of the body. Snakes are singularly inactive in their habits. Even in warm weather, when they are the least sluggish, they will lie together in a knotted mass, only occasionally changing their position, and then relapsing into perfect rest. The sluggish movements and the perilous rapidity of the dart of vipers when molested, are dangerously deceptive. The mode of attack of these snakes and all other non-hooded venomous ones, is in wonderful contrast to that of the hooded-snakes, whose every movement may be almost invariably anticipated by an expert manipulator; hence the facility with which they are handled by so called snake-charmers. Snakes when kept in captivity usually refuse food; cobras, however, sometimes consume it readily. Weir Mitchell, finding the food supplied so frequently unconsumed, adopted the plan of feeding such of the snakes as seemed feeble and badly nourished with milk and insects in the following manner:—"The snake was secured, and the lower jaw held in the grasp of a pair of forceps, while a funnel with a long stem was thrust down the œsophagus. Into this, insects such as flies and grasshoppers were pushed, or milk poured in proper quantity." I have had to feed a large *Ophiophagus*, by pushing pieces of meat down its throat with a stick—an operation not altogether pleasant for either the operator or the reptile. One of my little boys had a pet snake, *Chrysopelea Ornata* (golden tree snake) which he fed with milk out of a saucer. He held the snake near the head, and put the saucer to it, when it readily drank the milk and in comparatively large quantities at a time. Miss Hopley

* Weir Mitchell says, he is convinced that the poison of the *Crotalus* can kill itself when hypodermically injected. Fayrer did not think that the poison of the cobra was poisonous to itself. The question apparently so easy to decide is, really, a very difficult one, as the snakes sometimes die very rapidly in captivity. I came to the conclusion, after numerous experiments, that one species of snake could kill another.

says, "we of late so often see it said of any particular snakes that 'they neither ate nor drank at first,' or that 'they drank though they would not eat,' that we almost wonder their bibulous propensities were ever doubted; especially as the majority of snakes are fond of water and swim readily, we are surprised, therefore, that the second edition of Mr. Lealy's really valuable work, published so lately as 1870, should still retain the assertion that snakes have never been *seen* to drink. Mr. Frank Buckland saw his *Coronella* drink frequently though she ate nothing; and as the discovery of this interesting lady and her brood, born in London in 1862, formed the subject of many papers in the scientific journals at the time, one would suppose that they would have been heard of in Germany where the species *C. laevis* is well known." As regards the shedding of the skin, Miss Hopley, who has several times witnessed the process, describes how the snakes crawl out of their skins: Weir Mitchell thus describes it: "My snakes lost their integuments at different periods during the summer. In all cases the old skin became very dark as the new one formed beneath it. If, at this time, the snakes were denied access to water, the skin came off in patches. When water was freely supplied, they entered it eagerly at this period, and not only drank of it, but lay in it for hours together. Under these circumstances the skin was shed entire—the first gap appearing at the mouth or near it. Through this opening the serpent walked its way, and the skin reverting, was turned inside out, as it crawled forth in its new and distinctly marked outer covering: when the old skin was very loose, the snake's motions were often awkward for a time. It is said to be blind during this period, which is probably true to some extent, since the outer layer of the cornea is shed with the skin, and there must obviously be a time, when the old corneal layer lies upon the new formation. It is also said that the fangs are lost at the same time as the skin. In some instances this was observed to be the case; but whether or not it is a constant occurrence, I am unable to say from personal observation." Sir Joseph Fayrer and I have observed that the *cobra* when in captivity sheds its skin about once a month, even in the winter months, and is certainly blind at this time; but the fangs are not invariably shed synchronously with the shedding of the skin. I have seen the sloughed skin entire from head to tail together with the corneal layer intact. In captivity, however, when the reptile has been deprived of water, the skin has been shed in patches, which came off easily when the snake was handled. In a state of nature I doubt very much whether the casting of the skin takes place nearly so frequently as when the reptiles are in

captivity. I have occasionally observed that birds line their nests with the sloughed skins of snakes. As to the power of snakes to fascinate small animals, Weir Mitchell remarks:—
 “After such numerous and long continued opportunities of observation, it might be supposed that I should be prepared to speak authoritatively as to the still disputed power of the snake to fascinate small animals. If the former exist at all, it is probable that it would only be made use of when the serpent required its aid to secure food.” He does not appear to think that it exists; nor do I, for the same reasons. He says “I have very often put animals, such as birds, pigeons, guinea-pigs, mice and dogs into the cage with a rattlesnake. They commonly exhibited no terror after their recovery from alarm at being handled and dropped into a box. The smaller birds were usually some time in becoming composed, and fluttered about in the large cage, until they were fatigued, when they soon become amusingly familiar with the snakes, and were seldom molested, even when caged with six or eight large *Crotali*. The mice which were similarly situated lived on terms of easy intimacy with the snakes, sitting on their heads, moving round on their gliding coils, undisturbed and unconscious of danger.” Recently I put two rats into a cage containing forty cobras all possessing more or less venom. On their first introduction to the snakes, their appetites appeared to be considerably affected, as they refused all food and were evidently much perplexed by the novelty of their position. “Fascination” failed to overcome the contempt which familiarity is said to breed, for in a short time the rats recovered their usual spirits, and caused considerable commotion amongst the cobras by running all over their heads and bodies. The snakes resented this familiarity in their own peculiar and stupid fashion by darting at each other and at imaginary foes. Occasionally, however, one of the intruders would receive attention, but easily avoided the attack. The rats lived and partook of food in the cage for ten or twelve days, when one after the other they were found dead—victims, no doubt, of misplaced confidence. Apropos of “fascination,” Dr. Nicholson says, in his interesting little work, “we have but little knowledge of the habits of snakes when at liberty, owing to the difficulties attending the observation of such animals in tropical climates; vigilant and patient they mostly remain during the day in a state of repose, seeking their prey at those hours when most animals have relaxed from their usual watchfulness and are at rest for the night. Whether ground or tree-snakes they remain patiently in the same attitude until their prey approach, then, gently gliding over the short distance which intervenes, they pounce on the unsuspecting victim.

The approach is so imperceptible that, doubtless, a certain amount of curiosity must often fix the attention of animals on perceiving the snake for two or three seconds before they become aware of their danger; but of fascination, as it is called, there appears to be none.

"There are several explanations of the stories in which snakes are supposed to have fascinated their victims—'Fascination then,' says Miss Hopley, 'may be sometimes imputed to curiosity, sometimes to an anticipated morsel. It may partake of fear, or it may be an involuntary approach; it may be struggles of a poisoned creature unable to get away, or the maternal anxieties of a bird or small mammal whose offspring has fallen a victim to the snake.'"

The following amusing story appears in Pepy's Diary under entry February 4th, 1661-2. "To Westminster Hall, when it was full terme. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crewe's, where one Mr. Templer (an ingenious man, and a person of honor he seems to be) dined; and discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to great bigness, and do feed upon larks which they take thus:—They observe when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do inject poison upon the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent, which is very strange."*

Dr. Nicholson tells us that the young of snakes are produced once a year; the period between the impregnation of the female and the birth of her young is uncertain, but it would appear to be from four to five months. In the majority of snakes the eggs are exhaled after about three months gestation, the development of the embryo taking place in the period between laying and hatching; most snakes are, therefore, oviparous. Some of them retain the eggs until maturity more or less perfect. Originally all venomous snakes were called vipers, under the idea that the class was distinguished by its vivi-

* Scarcely more strange than that which follows. Pepy continues—"He is a great traveller, and speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long (about which times they are most busy,) there are fiddlers go up and down the fields everywhere, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung." Many marvellous stories are told by "great travellers." It would appear that "travelling" not only expands the mind, but also the imagination, or possibly the gullibility of the traveller. Chateaubriand, another great traveller, says of a certain snake—which by the way is perfectly innocent—"He hisses like a mountain eagle and bellows like a bull!" Du Chailu tells stories that almost take one's breath away.

parous habit. As a fact, however, though most of the viperine snakes and many nameless snakes are so, the venomous Colubrine snakes, such as the cobra and ophiophages are oviparous. All sea-snakes, and nearly all the fresh-water snakes, are viviparous, and many tree-snakes are ovoviviparous. Nicholson says that "the cobra at Bangalore is impregnated about January; the eggs are hatched in May, and up to the beginning of June, as many as 19 young will be found in a brood." In Bengal, however, impregnation takes place in April or May, and the eggs are hatched in September. I possessed a brood of 40 vipers (Daboias).

Regarding the disagreeable odour that snakes sometimes have, Weir Mitchell says—"When a rattlesnake is roughly handled, especially about the lower half of its length, a very heavy and decided animal odour is left upon the hands of the observer. If the snake be violently treated, causing it to throw itself into abrupt contortions, then streams of a yellow or dark brown fluid are ejected to the distance of two or three feet. This fluid appears to come from glands alongside of the cloaca. Its odour is extremely disagreeable, and it is irritant when it enters the eye, although not otherwise injurious." I have, while handling Indian snakes, experienced these disagreeable qualifications of theirs. Chateaubriand appears to have met with a far more disagreeable snake in the States of America. He says—"When approached it becomes flat, appears of different colours, opens its mouth hissing. Great caution is necessary not to enter the atmosphere which surrounds it. It decomposes the air which, imprudently inhaled, induces languor. The person wastes away, the lungs are affected, and in the course of four months he dies of consumption!" A terrible snake this if the story only were true!

I am sometimes asked in all seriousness whether there are such creatures in existence as two-headed snakes; and a gentleman once gave me a description of one which he declared that he had seen in the jungles in Australia, where he said such snakes were common. After so positive a statement I did not, of course, venture to suggest that he was mistaken. I should only have got for an answer, "But I tell you I have seen them." Two-headed snakes certainly have existed and do exist. The *Amphisbæna*, for example, existed in the imagination of the ancients, and the *dui morkhka samp* exists in the imagination of the natives of India.* There are, however, monstrosities of the kind, as there are of other animals, in some museums. One *lusus naturæ* is, or was,

* Nicholson says—"The double-headed snake is manufactured by snake jugglers and exhibited to the credulous European or Indian."

certainly to be seen in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. A moment's reflection would convince even the most credulous that such creatures could not possibly exist. What embarrassment would arise in the event of a disagreement between the two heads as to the direction in which food should be sought for!—a decided exception to the rule that "two heads are better than one." Miss Hopley tells us that "several of the burrowing family are remarkable for a similarity of head and tail, obscure features, inconspicuous eyes, and very small mouth, rendering it difficult at first sight to decide which is the head and which the tail. All being feeble, inoffensive and entirely harmless, the evil attached to them of having two heads is only another proof of the prejudice and animosity displayed towards every creature in the shape of a snake however innocent. These poor little "blind worms, admirably organized to dig and burrow and find their food in deep and hidden places, have their uses. We must note one other of the family of burrowing snakes which, from the very earliest ages, have been suppositiously endowed with two heads. Its name, *Amphisbæna*, or double walker, (going both ways), however, is well merited, because like *Typhlops*, it can progress either way, forwards or backwards, with equal facility. Of this harmless and useful reptile Pliny seriously wrote: 'The *Amphisbæna* has two heads; that is it has a second one at its tail, as though one mouth were too little for the discharge of all its venom!' One cannot help thinking that Pliny must have met at least one of the human species whose "mouth was too little for the discharge of all his venom," but it is doubtful whether he credited him with possessing too much head.

The manner in which the functions of the various parts concerned combine to effect a poisonous bite is certainly remarkable. The act, apparently simple in itself, consists really of a series of complex acts following rapidly one upon another, in ordered sequence to effect a certain end; and as Dr. Weir Mitchell says, "The physician may learn from their study how he may be deceived as to the occurrence of poisoned wounds, and how the snake which appears to strike, may really fail in its object, even though seeming to have inflicted a wound," and then he gives the details of the manner in which the reptile inflicts an effectual bite. "At the instant, and while in motion, the jaws are separated widely, and the head is bent somewhat back upon the first cervical bones, so as to bring the point of the fang into a favourable position to penetrate the opposing flesh. Owing to the backward curve of the tooth, this,

of necessity, involves the opening of the jaws to such an extent, that an observer, standing above the snake, can see the white mucous membrane of the mouth as the blow is given. Consentaneously with the forward thrust of the body, and with the opening of the mouth, the spheno-ptyergoids act from their firm cranial attachments to draw forward the pterygoid plate, and thus through its attachment to the maxillary, to erect the fang As the spheno-ptyergoid acts, the submaxillary bone rocks forward upon its lachrymal articulation, when the motion reaches its limit, and is checked by the ligament which I have described, the supporting lachrymal bone in turn yields to the power applied through the maxillary bone.

"These movements elevate a little the muzzle of the snake, so as to give to the snake a very singular expression during the act of striking. Their more obvious and important result is the elevation of the fang, which rising, thrusts off from its convexity the cloak-like vagina-dentis, so that it gathers in loose folds at its base.

"As the unsheathed tooth penetrates the flesh of the victim, a series of movements occur, which must be contemporaneous, or nearly so. The body of the snake still resting in coil, makes, as it were, an anchor, while the muscles of the neck contracting, draw upon the head so violently, that when a small animal is the prey, it is often dragged back by the effort here described. If now the head and fang remain passive, the pull upon the head would withdraw the fang too soon, but at this moment, the head is probably stayed in its position by the muscles below, or in front of the spine; while the ptergoideus externus and spheno-palatine, acting upon the fang through their respective insertions into the posterior apophysis of the submaxillary bone, and the inside of the palate bone, draw its point violently backward, so as to drive it more deeply into the flesh. At this instant occur a third series of motions, which result in the further deepening of the wound, and in the injection of the poison."

The lower jaw is closed upon the bitten part or member. Where the surface struck is flat and large, this action will have but slight influence. Where the jaw shuts on a small limb or member, the consequent effects will be far more likely to prove serious. Since the power thus to shut the mouth materially aids the purpose of the blow The first two (muscles) tend simply to shut the mouth; the anterior temporal, however, is so folded about the poison-gland, that while it draws up the lower jaw, it simultaneously compresses two-thirds of the body of the poison-gland.

This force is so applied as to squeeze the fluids out of the upper and back parts of the gland and drive them forward into the duct. The anterior lower angle of the gland, as well as a portion of the duct, is subjected to similar pressure at the same instant, owing to the flat tendinous insertion of a part of the external pterygoid upon the parts in question. It will thus be observed, that the same muscular acts which deepen the wound, fix the prey and inject the venom through the duct and into the tissues penetrated by the tooth." Now, in the case of the cobra, the act is still more complicated by the preliminary expansion of the hood, and the greater distance of the strike.

It would, of course, be anticipated in such an elaborate sequence of movements as those above described, that in the event of the failure of one of the essential motions, the ultimate essential of the whole would be materially interfered with, constituting an imperfect or ineffectual bite.

The causes of an ineffectual bite when the snake is poisonous and in full vigour are—

1st.—Miscalculation of distance.

2nd.—The object being too near, the blow is lost, and the fang does not enter.

3rd.—Insufficient elevation of the fangs which are driven by the force of the forward impulse.

4th.—When the fang enters, and from the quick starting of the animal injured, or from other cause, it is withdrawn so soon, that a large portion of the venom is thrown harmless upon the surface near the wound.

5th.—When from the nature of the part struck the snake is unable to close its jaws upon the parts.

There are other causes of an ineffectual bite referrible to the snake itself.

1st.—Its gland may contain little or no venom (*a*) from recent exhaustion, (*b*) from impeded secretion through sickness.

2nd.—The efficient fangs may have been shed or lost.

Here I may note that fangs are renewed.

When snake-poison is required for immediate experimental purposes or for collection, it is absolutely necessary either to handle the reptiles yourself, or to have them manipulated under your own supervision. In the former case, to ensure accuracy of observation, and in the latter, to obtain a supply of the genuine article. The specimens supplied by *samp-wallahs* are dirty and unreliable though high prices are often given. On one occasion through an obliging correspondent, I was supplied with a large quantity

of poison which subsequently was found to be "gum," which the poison much resembles. On another I bought what appeared to be the genuine article, and it proved to be strychnine and gum mixed.

Fontana obtained the poison of the viper by killing the animal, and compressing the poison glands which are situated behind the eyes, until the fluid exuded through the ducts. Barnett and others chloroformed the animal and then exerted pressure on the glands. Prince Bonaparte made the snake bite upon soft substances which imbibed venom readily, and from which it could be easily removed by water.

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's method is here described :—

In moving snakes it is customary to employ long-handled tongs or forceps, which are apt to pinch and otherwise injure them. I have been in the habit of using for this purpose a bar of wood four feet long and cut off at the end, so as to present a slightly roughened surface, one and a half inches square ; on one side of the end, a piece of soft and pliant leather strap was nailed securely. This strap was then carried across the end of the bar, and through a flat staple upon the side opposite to that on which the strap was fastened, a stout cord attached to the strap above the staple, was held in the operators hand. To use this simple instrument, the strap was drawn down, so as to form a loop, which was easily slipped over the head of a snake, and there tightened by drawing on the cord. Where it was desirable merely to secure the venom, the loop was slipped over the head and drawn closely around the neck.

Thus prepared, the snake was placed on the table and retained by an assistant, while the operator obtained the venom. When it was desirable to have an animal bitten without placing it in the cage, the loop was carried to the middle of the snake's body, and it was thus allowed movement enough to enable it to draw back and strike. It is unnecessary to add that during these manipulations, the utmost caution is necessary to avoid accident.

As it is sometimes essential to detain the snake on the table for some time without being forced to employ a person to guard it, I devised a little apparatus which, although imperfect, answered my ends well enough. A box about four inches square and thirty-six inches long was divided lengthwise, and arranged with hinges so as to close readily. The two sections were deeply grooved, so that where the sides of the box met, the grooves formed a tube large enough to receive the body of a serpent five feet in length. The large end of the box was fitted with a sliding door which could be secured by a wooden wedge driven in behind it. The lower edge of the door was made concave, and a piece of leather was tacked across the concavity, designed to press on the snake's neck and secure without injuring it.

To employ this arrangement, the box was closed and the door raised, a cord having been previously run through the central tube. This cord bore on its extremity a loop, which was thrown over the tail of the snake, and carried up between three and four inches. To effect this manœuvre, I was usually obliged to hold the snake down with a long stick notched at the end. The serpent being thus noosed, the loop was tightened, and an assistant tilted the box over the cage and rapidly drew the snake backwards into the tube, while a second person standing in front guided the snake with a long rod.

As soon as the tail appeared at the small end of the box, it was secured by the assistant, and the looped string which held it was wound around a nail. At this instant the head sometimes retreated into the box. After waiting a moment, it usually re-appeared again, and was then seized with a pair of long forceps, and held, while the door was pushed down on the neck and made fast with the wedge. When the snake was small, it sometimes contrived to turn around in the box before the tail emerged and thus reverse its desired position. This occurrence twice exposed the operator to great danger; it was finally provided against by the aid of a large cork, which was strung upon the cord and was used to close the small end of the tube when the snake was of a size to make it possible for it to turn in the tube. When the snake was thus properly imprisoned, it could be placed on the table and studied to great advantage, while it was still able to bite with sufficient vigor. At various times I have employed all the methods of procuring venom, which I have enumerated at the commencement of this note. I have finally laid aside all but the plan of stupefying the snake by chloroform. This is accomplished by seizing the snake about the middle with the looped staff, and placing it on the table. An assistant then controls the head and neck, by confining the latter with a notched stick, while with the other hand he slips over the head a glass vessel about two inches wide, and containing at the closed end a sponge soaked in chloroform. The snake breathes for a time with only a few inches of lung which lie in front of the stick, but as it becomes more insensible, the pressure of the stick is removed, and the strap of the staff loosened. About twenty minutes are required to complete the process. If it is then found that the lower jaw hangs relaxed when opened, the neck is secured firmly, the fangs caught on a saucer edge, and the glands stripped from behind, forwards, by pressure with the thumb and forefinger. The venom usually escapes alongside of the fang, from under the mucous cloak. To secure all of the available venom, it is best to wash the fang and the vagina-dentis with the aid of a little water and a pipette; but one objection can be urged against this method. One snake in every four died within from two to five days, and this after apparent recovery from the effects of the chloroform. It is not impossible that too severe a compression of the venom glands may produce rupture of its substance and consequent blood poisoning. This, however, is but conjecture; and I have not further examined the subject experimentally.

The method adopted by us in India, though, perhaps, more dangerous, is infinitely more simple and efficacious. The reptile is caught by the tail, and the end of a walking stick is then placed upon the head, pressing it not too forcibly against the ground or floor. When secured the tail is handed over to an assistant, or it may be let go, and with the hand the snake is seized just behind the stick, which is then removed. Care is, of course, required that the fingers do not slip, as they sometimes will when the animal is shedding its skin; and, that the animal is not held so tightly as to injure it. *Samp-wallahs* hold the tail of the snake between the toes of the left foot. Expert manipulators do not require to use any stick, especially for cobras, but at once place the fingers upon the neck and then grasp it. To remove the poison, the creature is made to bite through a strip of plantain leaf placed transversely around a mussel shell, the concavity of

Something about Snakes, &c.

which is turned upwards. The fangs pierce the leaf and the poison flows freely through the fangs into the shell. An extra quantity of poison is obtained by exerting pressure upon the glands. The snakes do not always bite readily, but some times require a good deal of irritating: sometimes only one fang penetrates, and it is then necessary to make the snake bite again, in which there is generally some difficulty. The venom is then removed and poured into watch glasses to be dried and bottled off for use as occasion arises. Poison thus dried will retain its power for years. I have experimented with some 15 years old, and I found that it had lost none of its virulence.

Natives tell many extraordinary stories about snakes; amongst others, that a snake called the *Dhunarash*, milks cows. The belief that snakes have the power to suck is not confined to natives. A gentleman told me of a story he heard from another to the effect, that a lady who was suckling her infant one night, woke up and found a snake suckling at the other breast. Suction cannot, however, be accomplished without the aid of lips and a broad tongue, both of which are absent in the snake. This story, like many others, is a myth.

There is a well-known superstition prevailing amongst the natives of India to the effect, that when a person is bitten by a snake, the snake should be protected from injury: it is believed that if it is killed, the bitten person will surely die. I have reported such a case in Sir Joseph Fayrer's "Thanatophidia." Again *samp-wallahs* will never kill a snake for fear their power over the creature should be destroyed. It is singular to find that such a belief exists also amongst the Caribs. Captain Pim, in his entertaining book, "Dottings on the Road-side," says—"On another occasion I saw a smaller but no less deadly member of the same species; it was on the banks of the San Juan, in the hands of my faithful Simon (a Carib), who had just landed from my canoe to make a fire and cook our breakfast. Simon allowed the creature to coil round him, and commenced talking to it in his musical language, holding the head close to his face. Presently he put it gently on the ground, when it slowly made its way into the adjacent undergrowth. I gave Simon a good blowing up for letting the brute escape, but he told me that he was a snake doctor, and that had he inflicted the slightest injury on it, his influence would have been at an end for ever."

It is thought that the snake-charmers train or charm their so-called performing snakes so as to make them do certain acts at the will of the "charmers." Now, this is not the case. By the training of a mammal, such as a horse for instance—the animal is made to do certain acts, it may be, foreign to

its usual behaviour, or even its nature, at the will of the trainer, and in the process the animal's intelligence is appealed to. But in the case of the cobra (and in that of performing birds in a lesser degree) the manipulator anticipates the natural behaviour of the reptile, under certain conditions, which alone he has command over. And he is the best "charmer" who is the most intimately conversant with the movements of the creatures under varying conditions. For example, I say, this cobra which is now balancing itself before me, shall turn to the right, raise itself higher, turn to the front again, suddenly dart, and after rebalancing itself, put its head down upon the table. To make the snake accomplish this, I wave my right hand very gently and turn it to the right, raise it towards the head of the snake; then bring it to the front, and wave it at first very gently, then rapidly, and suddenly bring my hand down in front of the snake, which now strikes. Then smartly extend my arm above, so that when the snake rebalances itself, the palm of my hand nearly touches its head, and lastly, I bring my hand down gently towards the table. *

Since the foregoing was written, I have read the following amusing account of snake manipulation by Dr. Nicholson. "To take a snake out of the box, when he is not sufficiently domesticated to be taken up with the hand, lift his body with a hooked stick and, as his tail glides over, take hold of it and deposit him on the floor or in a spare box. If you wish to tame the snake, he must be taken out daily, and gradually accustomed to being handled; if you could persuade him to drink milk," (which you can do by dropping it on to his head) "the offer of it would become a great inducement to good behaviour. A cobra must always be taken out daily and gradually tired out of his wildness, but in the intervals of his performances he should be left alone and not worried. There is very little danger about handling this snake, nerve is all that is required. I have very little of it myself, and can never handle venomous snakes with confidence. I have often envied the nerve of a friend in Rangoon, who, emboldened by the possession of a fancied antidote in case of accident, handles cobras with perfect freedom; he puts his hand into a narrow mouthed basket containing

* I had several little birds, *Moonlaks*, and I found that they would go through the following performance by themselves. On taking one on to an index finger, and putting the other index finger before it, the bird would step or hop from one to the other as often as I changed them, if I just touched its breast. If I wanted the bird to fly for a short distance, I brought the disengaged finger sharply up to its breast, and at the same time I lowered the engaged finger. If I remove one finger and held the bird some distance from the cage, it would fly from my finger into the cage. Nearly every bird would go through this performance.

several cobras, and picks out the one he wants without the slightest objection on the part of the snake beyond the usual hard swearing. When the cobra is on the floor, he squats down before him and brings him to attention, if he is making tracks, by a smart smack on the back; then, by a side to side movement of the knees or gently moving in front of him a piece of chalk or a rolled-up handkerchief held in the the left hand, he can be kept steady for a long time, following your movements." (The hand alone answers the purpose equally well if you are at all experienced.) "If your attention relaxes, he calms down and backs away; catch hold of him by the tail or smack him on the back, and he will come to attention again. Keep him occupied with an object in front of him, and you may do anything to him; place your right hand above his head, and you can bring him flat to the ground, but without any attempt at resistance. After he has stood up some time, it is easy to provoke a strike; this, however, is rarely done viciously, and the injury inflicted is generally confined to his own nose. Most captured cobras have their noses barked raw from frequent hits against hard substances." As for the snake's supposed love for music, I have certainly not noticed it. As Dr. Nicholson remarks, "The country music played by snake charmers during the cobra's performance, is quite superfluous, and from the very imperfect condition of the auditory apparatus, it is highly probable that it has very little appreciation of sound. It has been said that when a large number of remedies are to be found for any particular disease, that disease is either very easy, or impossible, to cure. There is probably no disease—not even excepting cholera—for which such a multitude of remedies are in existence, as for snake-poisoning, or more correctly speaking for snake-bite, for the two are by no means synonymous. The thousand of antidotes are almost all of a secret nature, very few being known and having professional sanction. Every district in India has its own *samp-wallahs*, and each *samp-wallah* is the happy possessor of an antidote and a *mantra* to assist it. Whether these men believe in the efficacy of their remedies I am not quite sure, but I have never yet seen the man who was willing to submit his remedy to a crucial test in his own person even for a consideration. The excuse has always been that he might forget his *mantra* at a critical moment. This reminds me of a curious story which was told to me some time ago. It appears that before the Mahommedan woodcutters will go into a fresh patch of jungle in the Sonderbunds, they send a holy man (strange to say, a Hindoo) to the place to propitiate the wild animals. He erects a small *maichan* in which he stops for the night, if he is not eaten in the meantime. If all goes well, and the *jogt* is untouched, it is assumed that the jungle

may be safely worked. Occasionally it happens that a hungry brute refuses to be propitiated in any but a natural manner, and it eats the *jogi*. When the wood-cutters are asked to explain why the holy man has been eaten notwithstanding his *mantras*, they say that he must either have had a very indifferent character, which was probably true, or he *had forgotten his mantras when attacked by the tiger*. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this story, but *se non è vero, è ben trovato*. I have, however, seen at several different parts of the Soonderbunds *maichans* which were said to have been occupied by *jogis*. From time to time "infallible cures," "certain antidotes" and "never-known-to-fail remedies" are sent to me from all parts of the world to be submitted to the crucial test, always with the same result—utter failure. Many of them come accompanied by certificates of infallibility, and not a few come with the intimation that the sender would be happy to disclose the secret, on the Government sending him the reward which is supposed to have been offered. I have experimented with "antidotes" sent from Brazil, the United States of America, Australia, and all over India, and in many instances the directions for the administration and application of the antidotes were amusingly absurd. For extraordinary cures of *snake bite*, the *Panseurs* (snake-doctors) of St. Lucia certainly excell all others. The Government of India, observing in the Immigration Report of St. Lucia for the year 1879, that reference was made to the successful treatment of snake bite, asked for further information on the subject. And the result is a most extraordinary contribution to snake-poisoning literature. All of the contributors, *with the exception of the medical officer*, appear to be quite satisfied that the *panseurs* are really able to cure snake-poisoning. One gentleman remarks, however, that "It is my impression that when the bite is inflicted by a large vigorous serpent in such a manner that the venom is deposited within a blood vessel or deep in the tissues, or, as sometimes happens, in the trunk, death is inevitable." He makes the extraordinary statement that he believes that the bite of the "Fer de Lance" is more fatal to whites than to the black or coloured people. The medical officer after pointing out some of the conditions under which the snake may not have inflicted an effectual bite, remarks, "It is important to bear the above in mind when we hear many persons boasting (some of them, no doubt honestly) of their success with, and their ability to cure, serpent bites."

"There are *many remedies* (italics mine) believed by the inhabitants to be efficacious; some kept a secret, some used locally, others internally, and some both local and internal, while passes are made and words used by the professional

snake-bite curers, which no doubt are useful with the class on whom they are practised, on the principle of the 'influence of mind over matter.' The preparations consist of a heterogeneous collection, chiefly of various herbs steeped in rum." "These must be gathered on a certain day (generally a Friday, and at a certain phase of the moon. The recipes are reported to be obtained from old Africans.

"The St. Lucia Almanac of 1852 gives 'six modes of treatment.' Many of these seem absurd, and one positively dangerous from the amount of arsenic it contains. Mention is made of the guaco * having been re-introduced by Governor Darling from Venezuela, and 'that it now luxuriates in the garden of every gentleman in the Island.' I believe it has again become extinct!" Note in the above extract that the "panseurs" assist their antidotes with "passes" and "words"; the *jharrow* and *mantras*. Also that they have *many remedies*, notwithstanding that guaco, (the great remedy) has become extinct. The medical officer winds up his letter with the following paragraph:—

"The treatment adopted by some of these serpent doctors, can only be described as 'lynch law,' and I believe often gives rise to mortification of the bitten part. Others practise by more gentle means, inflicting no injury. A powder named Theriaque† is in great repute. This consists of a forago of 72 different ingredients, the flesh of the viper being one; each drachm of the powder contains a little more than a grain of opium, and to the soothing effect of this drug is to be ascribed such influence for good as the powder may have. Rum and ammonia are largely used in all the nostrums, and are probably the only efficacious constituents." The marvel is that any person so treated ever recovers from the effects of the treatment. We find mentioned no fewer than four articles which have a reputation in India, namely, arsenic, (as given in the Tanjore pill), opium, (opium eaters are supposed to be proof against snake-poison) alcohol, and ammonia. Over stimulation in a case of real snake-poisoning can only expedite the absorption of the poison, which, it should be our aim to prevent being taken up into the general circulation. Ammonia, like alcohol, is only a stimulant—not an antidote. Hence in a true case of poisoning it is not only useless but hurtful. But to return to the "panseurs" of St. Lucia. One gentleman writes:—"I cannot state with certainty what is *generally* the exact course of treatment observed, 'panseurs' evincing a disinclination to give definite information on the

* The *Milkenia guaco* has had many advocates amongst them; Andrieux in 1849, Vargas 1798, and others. | † Advocated by Arctæus in 1772.

subject. In almost every instance they have acquired the knowledge from Africans who have charged heavily for transmitting it. Fathers have bequeathed the information thus obtained to their sons, so that a family for many generations have been acknowledged as professional 'panseurs'; consequently a knowledge of the kind, which, as a rule, is a source of pecuniary advantage to the 'serpent doctor,' is cautiously and jealously guarded by every member of the faculty." Two 'panseurs,' however, hearing that information was required by Her Majesty's Government, "loyally elected to be exceptions to the rule," and so we are afforded information as to the composition of two of these marvellous cures, and according to the "panseurs," nothing could be more successful, seeing that one man has had 62 cases, and lost only one patient; while the other had 250, and he too lost only one patient, and that one died not from the effects of the bite, but "from being too much frightened." Here are the prescriptions:—Take of each of the following herbs, viz.—Zebe Giate. En haut bois, confied Cayé, Petit Fongère. Zebe á Couresse, Zebe Dahi, Zebe á Colete, Chadron, Beni, Soumatié, Zimoron, Treffe, Charhentier, Zebe astro, Jarpanyai, and Balier doux, pound the same in a mortar, add thereto $\frac{3}{4}$ oz of alkali, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz of laudanum, put all in a quart bottle full of very strong spirits, shake and mix well, administer internally half a wine-glass-full according to condition and constitution of patient. Dress the wound twice a day and oftener, if necessary, with the same preparation."

"1st—Dose.

- 1 Gr. powdered Peruvian bark.
- 1. Gr. emetic.
- 3 Drops spirits of hartshorn.

2nd Tison.

1 handful Bois mal estomac leaves, coco figæ, small piece raisin, citron small piece.

3rd Cataplasme.

Pied Poulli, a handful of Moron, ditto fevilles, Pistaches l'Ecorce, Quina bois pilled, 1 Corce d'ail or garlic, 9 grains preserve guinié, un morceau de gingerbre or ginger un cuillier poud á fusil, un morceau de tieff. (A singular mixture of French and English.)

4th.

"After applying the above stated, then cut the bite to run out the poison,

Then a small tumbler containing some rum, light fire to the rum, and apply upside down on the bits called *vantouse*" (This is a rough form of "cupping" but both that and suction utterly fail to "draw out" a single drop of venom, for the simple reason that it is rapidly diffused, and becomes intimately amalgamated with the products of the specific local inflammation).

5th Vomiting.

To make the patient vomit, take some leaves of quina bois, boil in one quarter of water, to be reduced to three tea-cups.

6th Friction.

After 4 days 1° *savon Francais*, 1° *Chandelle mole*, 2 spoonful of white rum, melt together on fire, and rub part very hot." (This could do only harm in a true case of snake-poisoning.)

7th to avoid pains.

Take one leaf smoking tobacco (or merely) apply above, friction of No. 6 on the inside part, pass it on fire and apply over the part for 3 or 4 days, then wash the part with some hot water, and the patient is radically cured." *Mirabile dictu!*

By the way, there is internal evidence that the above prescriptions are certainly not amongst those which have been obtained "at great cost" from the Africans. Where did these Africans learn to make "*laudanum*" and "*spirits of harts-horne*?"

The old, old story of the mongoose is introduced to shew that there certainly must be an antidote in existence. In fact, all the old, dead, buried and disintegrated *post hoc ego propter hoc* arguments are exhumed and patched together to do duty as veritable and convincing proofs. A man is bitten, therefore by a poisonous snake. The snake was poisonous, therefore the man is poisoned. The man is poisoned, therefore he will die. An antidote is administered to the bitten individual, the individual does not die, therefore, the antidote cured him. A "*M. de Lanbenque's method*" of treatment is mentioned. While there is nothing new in it, there is much that is ludicrous. The method includes the old treatment of the application and administration of oil, which was declared useless nearly 200 years ago, (*vide* my article in the "*Calcutta Review*" for July 1874): The absurd advice is given to keep the patient roused by every means. If it were a case of real poisoning nothing would keep the patient roused. Far from rousing the patient it is good practice to keep him as quiet as possible, so that the absorption of the poison—which you desire to keep out of the general system—may be retarded as much as possible. The wonderful

snake-doctors of St. Lucia, like many other snake-doctors, evidently owe much of their fame and reputation to the non-identification of the snake, and the timidity of the people. Dr. Shadling says (as quoted by Miss Hopley) "I believe every country has a pet bugbear among serpents. *Fer de lance* is the cry in St. Lucia, when a snake rustles away" in the bush, or inflicts a bite unseen." After all, the "*Fer de lance*" *Trigonocephalus lanceolatus*—is not nearly so formidable as most of our Indian poisonous snakes, notwithstanding the infamous character which has been given to it by the people of St. Lucia. A very interesting note is given in Sir Joseph Fayrer's *Thanatophidia* on the snake-charmers of Bengal from the pen of Dr. Rajendralala Mitra. "In Bengal we have four different classes of men who deal in snakes. The first, and by far the most expert among them, is the *Mal*, a low caste Hindu, who earns his livelihood by catching and exhibiting snakes and selling simples in the bazaar" [in more ways than one] "but never professes witchcraft, jugglery or the healing art. Many of this class are certainly very poor and have to lead a vagrant life, but I have never heard that they are much given to thieving. In the North-Western Provinces they are replaced by *Modaris*, a few of whom occasionally come to Calcutta to ply their vocation. I have never had an opportunity of studying them carefully, and cannot, therefore, say anything about them. Apparently, however, they seem to have been confounded with the *Bediyahs*, or gypsies of Bengal. The latter are jugglers, bear and monkeys dancers, sellers of simples, fortune tellers, reputed adepts at curing rheumatism, gout, tooth-ache and other complaints; professors of witchcraft, experts in cupping, applying moxas and actual cautery, as well as snake-charmers. In fact, they take to whatever comes in their way to protect themselves from being taken up by the police as thieves, for thieves they are of the most inveterate type. Some time ago I put a few notes together about them.

As snake-charmers these people are by no means successful or noted. They differ from the *Mal* in taking their women to join them in their profession which the *Mals* never do. I have never seen a *Mal* woman. The *Sanyis* are known in Bengal by the name of *tubri-wallahs*. I am not aware of where their head quarters are, but there is no doubt they come to Bengal from the North-West. They are always dressed in yellow clothes and a large turban, and have a double pipe mounted on a gourd shell—the *tubri*—with the music of which they pretend to charm and draw out snakes from holes and cracks, not unoften from the bedding in the houses of the persons who employ them. For this purpose they carry about several snakes on their persons hidden under the

folds of their flowing garments; but openly they shew only a few or none. As professed vagrants they may purloin whatever falls in their way, but they are by no means notorious as thieves. They may be seen everywhere in the North-West, and I believe (though I cannot speak from personal knowledge) also in Southern India. I have met with notices of them in old Sanskrit books, and, it is probable, that as a class they have existed in India from a very early age. Their pipe is peculiar to them; it is never used by the *Māls*, the *Modaris*, and the *Bediyās* for charming snakes, nor by any of the Indian races for musical entertainment." Most of these snake-charmers, especially the *tubri-walbals*, are very fond of alcohol, particularly brandy; the more fiery the better. The crime of homicide by snake-bite, we are told by Chevers, was rather a full history from very ancient times. Snakes were employed also for purposes of war. Hannibal and Antiochus defeated the Romans in a novel action by throwing earthen-pots filled with the reptiles into their ships. In Paradin's *Chronique de Savoye* it is mentioned that a Saracen ship was taken in which were snakes in cages which were intended to be thrown among the Christians in their camp. He gives other instances of the practice. The following curious mention of the crime of using snakes as homicidal instruments, made in both ancient Hindu and Mahommedan law, is referred to by Dr. Chevers:—

"If a man by violence throws into another person's house a snake or any other animal of that kind, whose bite or sting is mortal, this is snakish, *i. e.*, violence. The Magistrate shall fine him five hundred puns of cowries, and make him throw away the snake with his own hand." Halhed's *Code of Gentoo laws*, pp. 262, 263. It was enacted in the ancient Mahommedan law that "If a person bring another into his house, and put a wild beast into the room with him and shut the door upon them, and the beast kill the man, neither *hisas* nor *diyyat* is incurred. And it is the same if a snake or scorpion be put into the house with a man, or, if they were there before and sting him to death. But, if the sufferer be a child, the price of blood is payable." Dr. Chevers mentions that some of Sir Thomas Roe's suite were present, at an execution by snake-bite, ordered by the Mogul. It must have been a horrible spectacle judging from the account of the execution.

When I left the subject of the investigation into the nature of snake-poison, in the *Calcutta Review* of July 1874, Sir (then Dr.) Joseph Fayrer and Dr. Lauder Brunton had communicated a series of valuable papers on the nature of snake-poison to the Royal Society; and the Indian Snake-poison Commission (of which Dr. Ewart was President, and Dr. Mackenzie and I members) were about to issue their report, and indeed, did issue it

in the latter part of the year. The object of the appointment of the Commission is thus described in the report :—" From experiments made in London with the dried poison of the Naga, Tripudians (cobra), Drs. Fayrer and Lauder Brunton were led to infer that artificial respiration, applied to animals or human beings, poisoned by any of the *Thumatophidia of India*, might prove successful in prolonging or saving life. Dr. Fayrer states in a letter, dated 29th November 1872, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, that "since my return to London, I have in conjunction with Dr. Lauder Brunton, been making further investigations into the subject of snake-poisoning, especially with a view of ascertaining if there be any means of saving life, and, though I cannot say that that desirable object of research has been attained, I am satisfied that the results of certain experiments are interesting and important," as they point in that direction. I have recorded an opinion derived from a long and elaborate series of experiments, that some of the so-called antidotes possess the virtues or powers attributed to them; but in the experiments recently made, it is ascertained beyond a doubt, that the life of an animal poisoned by the cobra-virus, may be prolonged for many hours by artificial respiration, and it is therefore possible that, if respiration be artificially continued for a sufficient length of time, life may be altogether preserved. In experiments performed upon the fowl and rabbit, after the most complete development of the physiological action of the poison, amounting to total paralysis and convulsions, conditions which immediately precede death, the convulsions ceased, and in one case the heart was kept beating vigorously for about nine hours (and probably then failed from imperfect respiration carried on in the cold)—a result never before attained by any means that I am aware of!" I had kept a dog alive for nearly twenty-four hours by artificial respiration. The results obtained by artificial respiration, in animals subjected to the action of the curara, or wourali poison, were calculated to encourage Dr. Fayrer to hope that similar treatment might possibly succeed in restoring to health animals almost dead from snake-poisoning. He remarked, 'There is apparently a strong analogy between the action of the cobra-virus, and that of the curara poison of South America. It has been ascertained that an animal poisoned by this agent may, after apparent death for many hours, be restored, if artificial respiration be carefully and continuously applied for a sufficient length of time, the temperature of the animal being at the same time sustained at blood-heat by artificial warmth. Curara, it is believed, kills by paralyzing the peripheral

distribution of the motor nerves, thus inducing asphyxia by involving the muscles of respiration in general paralysis. If, however, the heart's action can be sustained by artificial respiration during a sufficient length of time, to allow of elimination of the poison through the excretory organs, (whilst the heart acts they continue to perform their functions) the paralysed muscles regain their power, and life is slowly, but certainly restored. I am not prepared to assert that the cobra-poison kills in exactly the same way as carara; I am inclined to believe that it does not; but still analogy in the results of experiments support, or, perhaps, rather suggest the idea that, if artificial respiration be sustained in a case of cobra-poisoning, and life be thus artificially supported for a sufficient length of time, it might be for days, elimination of the poison, may occur, and recovery may result. Sir Joseph Fayrer was, however, by no means sanguine of the success of the treatment. This was the procedure adopted by the Commission. After poisoning the animal, a dog, either directly by the bite of a cobra, or by the hypodermic injection of the virus, when convulsions, general paralysis, and cessation of respiration, were fully developed, a canula was quickly inserted into the trachea. In the external end of the canula about a foot of India-rubber tubing was attached; and into the free extremity of this, the nozzle of the bellows was fitted. The canula, tubing, and bellows specially constituted for the purpose of avoiding clogging with mucus—were all connected and ready for use before the performance of the operation of tracheotomy was ever attempted. This was a necessary precaution, inasmuch as valuable time would have been lost, had the connexions between the different parts of the apparatus been always made after the trachea had been opened. Care was taken to see that the channels, through which the respiration was to be carried on artificially were clean and patent. To the canula was also attached a supplementary side tube, provided with a stop-cock, to admit of the escape of respired air, whenever it was found it was not being rapidly enough discharged by the side of the tube, through the mouth. The elastic recoil of the lungs and atmospheric pressure were generally sufficient to accomplish the act of expiration. Whenever these were deemed inadequate to empty the lungs, the opening of this stop-cock, and compression of the chest with the hands, were employed to secure efficient expiration, whilst the pumping in of air was in no way interrupted for a single instant. As regards the effects of artificial respiration on animals bitten by snakes, the Commission remark: "Death

from snake-poisoning is preceded by general muscular paralysis, induced by interference with the actions of the spinal cord, medulla oblongata, and it may be, the central ganglia of the encephalon; convulsions; unconsciousness, and absolute cessation of respiration. The rhythmic action of the heart continues for about three or four minutes longer. In these experiments, the time selected for the commencement of artificial respiration in the manner already indicated was the exact period when the breathing had ceased, and about three or four minutes prior to the stoppage of the beating of the heart. The average lapse of time between the infliction of the bite, and the cessation of the respiratory process, was only *forty-two minutes*, the maximum and minimum having been *one hour and ten minutes*, and *twenty-five minutes* respectively" without artificial respiration. A cobra does, however, sometimes kill in a much shorter time. "The powerful influence of artificial respiration, in supporting and prolonging life, is well illustrated Life was thus prolonged, on an average *ten hours and forty-one minutes*, the maximum having reached *seventeen hours and six minutes*, and the minimum *three hours and ten minutes*."

The Commission continued the experiments with decreasing doses of cobra-poison hypodermically injected; at last with the following result, when only $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a grain of the poison was injected. It took *four hours and two minutes* until artificial respiration was resorted to. In four minutes more, in the absence of this system, this animal's heart would have ceased to beat and somatic death been complete. But by its steady application, life was extended to *forty-one hours and fifty-two minutes*.

And the Commission thus sum up the results of the trial of artificial respiration:—"The power of artificial respiration in supporting the respiratory process; in maintaining the action of the heart, and the circulation of the blood to all parts of the body; in effecting the arterialization of the blood; in sustaining the life of the secreting and excreting organs, and that of the organic system of nerves; and in, probably, keeping up an imperfect form of nutrition of the tissues to which arterialized blood is supplied in abundance; for periods of time varying, to a great extent, according to the quantity of poison introduced into the system through the absorbent channels of the body, is therefore placed beyond all question.

"But its influence in saving life, even when very small quantities of the poison have found entrance into the juices, is extremely problematical. It occurred to us that there might

be hope of preserving life if the method were employed in conjunction with certain drugs. And though that hope was from our previous experience of the mortal nature of the poison over animal life, very faint, we resolved to try artificial respiration with the exhibition of medicines, and in a few instances with the transfusion of blood from a healthy dog into dogs poisoned with the virus of the cobra." But the Commission found that the exhibition of drugs in no way improved the chances of prolonging or preserving the lives of the animals experimented upon. The Commission performed nearly *two hundred* experiments on dogs, and as many of them occupied both day and night, and I personally conducted everyone of them, I am in a position to say that the strain upon the experimenter was sometimes exceedingly great. After being up for three hours I have remained in the experimenting room watching the dog experimented on for forty-six consecutive hours—without sleep and without leaving the room. This vigilance was absolutely necessary as a half minute's cessation of the artificial respiration operations on the part of the men would have been fatal to the experiment in hand, and would have necessitated the conduct of a fresh experiment. Add to the number of hours, a close room, the peculiar odour of pariah dogs and plenty of mosquitoes, and you may realize one's discomfort while the experiment lasted, and the state of fatigue afterwards. As regards the quantity of cobra-poison required to kill, the Commission found that the tenth of a grain killed a dog, weighing 18 lbs., in eleven hours and thirty minutes. One-twentieth of a grain injected beneath the skin of a dog weighing 26 lbs. produced drowsiness and vomiting, but the animal recovered. The *thirty-second* part of a grain injected into the peritoneal cavity of a dog, weighing 12 lbs., produced all the symptoms of snake-poisoning and eventually killed it in about fifty hours.

These results shew not only how fearfully subtle is cobra-poison, but how a favourable termination after the manifestation of serious symptoms may be attributed to the effects of the administration of reputed antidotes. The Commission obtained some poisonous snakes from Australia—the *Pseudechis porphyriacus* or black snake; and the *Hoplocephalus curtus*, the tiger snake. Both these snakes somewhat resemble the Indian cobra, but their fangs are smaller and they probably secrete less poison, and are not so deadly. With the poison of these snakes the Commission tested the efficacy of the ammonia treatment advocated by Dr. Halford, but like Fontana, Fayrer, Hilson, and myself, in regard to Indian snake-poisoning, they found it useless. This decision was subsequently agreed with by the Melbourne Medical Society, I believe. The Report

contains also a report of the analysis of cobra-poison by Mr. Alexander Pedler, F. C. S. As regards Mr. Pedler's analysis the Commission observe :—

“So far as we are aware, this is the first time that absolutely fresh-cobra poison has been submitted to ultimate analysis.” It will be observed from a reference to the following tables, that the substance isolated and analyzed by Mr. Pedler is more nearly allied to albumen than that submitted to examination by Dr. Armstrong, F. R. S. The reason of this discrepancy may possibly be found to exist in the fact that the poison investigated by the former gentleman was fresh and pure, whilst that analyzed by the latter was already in a state of decomposition before it was analyzed :—

			ARMSTRONG.	PEDLER.	
			Crude poison (decomposing)	Pure and fresh poison.	Albumen.
Carbon	...	...	43·55	52·87	53·4
Nitrogen	...	...	43·30	17·58	15·8
Hydrogen	...	...	.....	7·51	7·1
Sulphur	...	...	.....	not ascertained	1·8
Oxygen	...	...	.....	Ditto.	22·0

“It is quite impossible,” says Pedler, “to draw any deductions as to the nature of the poison. It is more than possible that the poison is a mixture of albuminous principles with some specific poison. Blyth claims to have isolated a crystalline principle. He says : “the poison has been examined by several chemists, but until of late years with a negative result. The writer was the first to isolate, in 1876, a crystalline principle which appears to be the sole active ingredient ; the yellow granules were dissolved in water, the albumen which the venom so copiously contains, coagulated by alcohol, and separated by infiltration ; the alcohol was then driven off at a gentle heat, the liquid concentrated to a small bulk, and precipitated with basic acetate of lead. The precipitate was separated, washed, and decomposed in the usual way by S. H₂, and on removing the lead sulphide, crystals having toxic properties were obtained.” Gautier declared that he found an alkaloid in cobra-poison resembling a ptomaine. But considerable advance in the chemical analysis of the venoms have

lately been made, and will hereafter receive attention. It is said that cobra-poison is the most powerful animal poison in existence, but after my experience with the ptomaine which is generated in the bowels of persons suffering from cholera, I am inclined to doubt that statement, though quantity for quantity it may, of course, be so. Cunningham and Lewis made a careful microscopic examination of cobra-poison and of the blood of poisoned animals, but with negative results. Dr. Wolfenden, late Professor of Physiology at the Charing Cross Medical School, says, however, "I have for some time been making experiments upon the blood of many animals. I cannot consent to the generally received opinion that cobra-venom exerts no influence upon the blood. My investigations, which will shortly be published, have convinced me that cobra-venom decolorises, by driving out the hæmoglobin, a large proportion of the discs, and breaks up a large number of the white discs, completely filling the plasma with minute granules. The bacterial forms, which are present in such large numbers, in cobra-venom, I do not think have anything to do with the activity of the venom. When recovery takes place from poisoning with a dose of the poison insufficient to kill, it is not improbable that a condition of blood poisoning may supervene, secondarily, as in one of the cases I have quoted." Neither Wall nor I have ever witnessed a condition of blood poisoning after the injection of fresh venom. Recovery, when it does occur, is always rapid and complete, not so in viper-poisoning.

The question of the fluidity or otherwise of the blood in persons poisoned by snake-venom is of some importance, medico-legally. At page 376 of Dr. Norman Chever's work on medico-legal jurisprudence will be found the following foot-note:—"The reporter in the *Lancet* says the blood was altogether dark, alkaline fluid (this was thirty hours after death, in the month of October), and it emitted a peculiar sour and sickly smell, quite different from the odour commonly known to pervade the dead-house. This is quite contrary to Indian experience. The blood drawn from an animal which has just died from cobra-poison always coagulates firmly. The blood of animals killed by Russell's viper does not coagulate." Now this statement, coming from so high an authority, is likely to mislead. The conditions under which the blood remains fluid; and under which it coagulates, are thus described by the Indian Snake-Commission.

The blood appears to remain fluid after death under the circumstances noted below:—

1st. When a large quantity of the cobra-poison has been directly injected into the circulation, as for example, into an artery or a vein.

2nd. In cases where animals or man have been poisoned by the bite of vipers, such as the Russell's viper.

3rd. In all cases of snake-bite, whether from the poisonous colubrine or viperine genera in the human subject.

The blood undergoes either partial or complete coagulation under the following conditions :—

1st. When a small quantity only of the cobra-poison has been injected into a vein or an artery.

2nd. In cases where the lower animals have been bitten by the cobra.

Why the admixture of a large and quickly fatal injection of the cobra-virus into the circulation of animals should produce comparatively permanent fluidity of the blood, or interfere with its ordinary coagulability soon after removal from the body or after death, and why the injection of a smaller and more slowly fatal quantity should interpose no obstacle to its speedy coagulation, are questions extremely difficult to account for or explain. We can only state the fact that in the one case coagulation occurs speedily, and in the other, this coagulation is retarded or altogether prevented by some cause at present unknown. I gave it as my opinion that the larger the quantity of the poison absorbed the nearer to fluidity will the blood be found after death ; that is to say, the fluidity of the blood is entirely dependent upon, and is in direct proportion to, the amount of the poison taken into the circulation. The fact of the blood remaining fluid in the case of man being bitten by a cobra and coagulating in the case of an effective cobra bite in the lower animals, can probably be accounted for in this way. The poison is probably absorbed in the human subject in a large quantity before death supervenes, consequently the proportion of poison to blood is greater than in the lower animals. Whether this be the true solution of the matter, I, of course, cannot positively assert, but, at any rate, it appears to me to be a rational explanation of the problem.

In 1883 Dr. Wall published the results of his investigations which I think were commenced in 1875, and his contribution, to the literature is certainly one of the most important ever published, though it must be remembered that, unlike most of his predecessors, he had a mass of important scientific material at hand to assist and direct him in his researches, which he undoubtedly conducted with much ability, care and scientific exactness as his little work amply testifies. "The inquiry," says Wall, "that naturally presents itself first in considering the subject of snake-poisoning is—How does snake-poison kill? and what are the changes it effects in the animal system? And, as a consequence of this—Is there

only one poison, or are there several? Upon the answers to these questions depend both the certain recognition of snake-poisoning when it comes under observation, and the indications that must serve as guides to us in the treatment of it." And on these lines Dr. Wall conducts his enquiry. After explaining the effects of cobra-poison on animals of different classes, he shews that the symptoms in man are peculiar, owing to the difference in the organization of his nervous system. He draws special attention to the pain and to the local specific inflammation, upon which the pain depends. Intense mental shock in snake-bite may render the victim insensible to pain, at least for a time. The characteristic local condition he considers to be of the utmost practical importance. Externally there may be scarcely a sign on the skin to mark the spot where the snake inflicted its bite: or possibly one or two small punctures, or even a scratch may be found, especially if the part bitten be the fingers.* It may even happen that the part is slightly swollen or discolored. But whatever may be the condition of the external aspect, there will be found a distinct change in the parts beneath. Dr. Wall fully describes the appearances that are found beneath the true skin. Briefly stated, the areolar tissue will be found to resemble red-currant jelly in appearance, or if a large quantity of venom has not been injected, there will be only a pinkish effusion. "This local hyperæmia," says Wall, "is the first indication that we obtain that snake-poison has really entered the system." True, but while admitting that it is of value as a diagnostic sign of a poisonous bite, I must observe that it is no certain indication of the injection into the tissues of a fatal dose of poison. Very extensive local mischief has been observed to have occurred in cases which have terminated in recovery. The practical importance, therefore, of this appearance seems to be somewhat limited. As regards the characteristic symptoms of cobra-poisoning in man they are thus described by Wall. A feeling of intoxication appears to be the first constitutional effect of the poison. It is very generally complained of but not universally so, as it would require some intelligence on the victim's part to mention it. The next symptom is loss of power in the legs—at first staggering, then inability to support the legs—due to progressive upward paralysis of the spinal-cord,

* When manipulating a large Daboia, a few days since, to extract its poison, I found that on one side two fully formed fangs were unsheathed. Now supposing this snake had effectively bitten a person, we should have found there distinct fang marks at the bitten part. Not the slightest reliance is to be placed in the appearance of the scratches or punctures, though very much stress has been laid upon them as a means of diagnosing the bite of a venomous snake.

and at last complete paraplegia. At this time there is scarcely any loss of power in the arms, which may remain completely under the influence of the will. The next symptoms are very characteristic. The patient loses power of speech, of swallowing of moving the lips; the tongue becomes motionless and hangs out of the mouth, and the saliva which is secreted, in large quantities, runs down the face, the patient being equally unable to swallow it or eject it. "It is singular," says Dr. Wall, "that the striking resemblance of these symptoms to the disease known as glosso-laryngeal paralysis has not been previously noticed. Now, the preponderance of medical opinion attributes this disease to lesion of certain tracts of the medulla." Dr. Wall confirms the views of his predecessors when he remarks that "it is evident that cobra-poison has a special affinity for acting on the respiratory centre, and those ganglia allied to it in the medulla oblongata which are in connection with the vagus, the spinal accessory, and the hypoglossal nerves, and that it is directly to this destructive action that we have to attribute death in most cases of cobra-poisoning.

Sir Joseph Fayrer first pointed out this fact, and he was confirmed in his opinion by Brunton, and the Indian Commission. The respiration becomes slower and slower until the victim dies suffocated. Wall does not believe that cobra-poison ever kills by tetanizing the heart as was supposed by Fayrer and Brunton, and I think there are grounds for believing that he is correct in his view. In very rapid cases of poisoning, instead of the gradual extinction of the function of the cerebro-spinal centres, the poison, he says, appears to act almost immediately by stopping the action of the respiratory centre. He fully describes and illustrates by stethometric charts the effects of cobra-poison upon the respiration. Briefly stated they are: slight quickening with increase of the excursus, followed by rapidly increasing retardation, with a certain amount of lessening of the excursus—the latter being less affected than the former; sudden and abrupt inspiration followed by an equally sudden expiration, until the respiratory effort is entirely abolished, and after a pause the convulsions of asphyxia terminate life. Cobra-poison exercises little influence upon the circulation and temperature, nor has it any particular effect upon the higher sensorium. This fact has been noticed over and over again; and is of some importance diagnostically. The pupil of the eye also is unaffected. On secretion, generally, the poison has great effect; nearly all secreting tissues being affected by it, especially lachrymation, and even more so, salivation, marked and constant. The whole alimentary tract pours out mucus. The larynx and trachea become almost occluded by frothy mucus. I have already pointed out that

Dr. Wolfenden cannot accept the generally received opinion that cobra-poison effects no great change in the blood, and on this point Wall says, "that there is no great change in the blood is evident from the fact, that when an animal has survived the same symptoms, produced by cobra-poison, it is found to be quite well, and to suffer no further inconvenience from blood-poisoning or other causes." It is just possible that when extensive sloughing occurs at the bitten part, septicæmia may occur, but this can scarcely be attributed primarily to the cobra-venom, or be regarded as a physiological effect of the venom. Before leaving the subject of cobra-poisoning I may state that Sir Joseph Fayrer and Dr. Lauder Brunton in their valuable series of papers on the subject, maintain that though the greater part of the nervous system is affected, yet the terminations of the motor nerves suffer especially, and in a very marked manner. Dr. Wall, on the other hand, is of opinion that there is no need to suppose a special effect of the poison on the peripheries of the motor nerves. As regards the daboia-poison Dr. Wall says, that the preliminary and local effects of the bite of a *Daboia Russelli* resemble those of the cobra, only that the consequent pain and inflammation are much more acute. The first constitutional symptom of daboia-poisoning is convulsions, which may vary in degree from those producing slight muscular twitching, to those which produce almost instant death. These primary convulsions depend upon the amount of poison injected, and the relative size and strength of the animal affected. Birds are most easily affected, and next to them the *Lacertilia* mammals also are very easily affected by the convulsion-producing properties of the poison. On the other hand, amphibia only exhibit symptoms of general paralysis. Wall draws attention to a curious fact, *viz.*, that by heating a solution of daboia-poison to 100° C. it loses completely the power of producing primary convulsions, even in birds, which under other circumstances it is difficult to poison without their occurrence. This may, perhaps, be accounted for by some alteration in the albumin venom being affected by heat; though it is true Dr. Wolfenden says that albumin venom is not destroyed by heat (95°), it may, however, be altered. This is a point which requires elucidation. In daboia-poisoning there are three forms in which death occurs. Firstly, from the primary convulsions. Secondly, the primary convulsions do not occur or pass off from advancing paralysis. Says Dr. Wall, "the respiration and pulse become greatly accelerated, and there is gradual loss of power in all the limbs, vomiting may occur, sanious discharges issue from the rectum and other parts, the pupils are usually widely dilated, and the respiration becomes less and less, and may cease with or

Something about Snakes, &c.

without convulsions." These secondary convulsions are simply the expression of carbonic acid poisoning. The third form of death from daboia-poisoning is altogether unlike anything observed in cobra-poisoning. It occurs in those cases in which insufficient poison has been injected to cause death in the above-mentioned forms. It is, indeed, death from blood-poisoning. "The animal has very few nervous symptoms, very likely none at all, but on the second day he appears ill, refuses food, has diarrhoea, his urine contains albumin, and he may linger on in this state for days, dying exhausted, or some acute complication may supervene causing death rapidly. It may be an œdematous condition of the lungs or a hæmorrhagic condition of the system generally that proves fatal. Hæmorrhages may take place from lungs, stomach, rectum, kidneys, and even skin. Sir Joseph Fayrer in a paper on the nature of snake-poison, which he read recently before the Medical Society of London of which he is President, says—"In 1868 I described the action of cobra and daboia venom in the case of two horses bitten by these snakes. I also pointed out the peculiar action of daboia venom in causing early convulsions. In some the convulsions are more marked, and in others death is preceded by a more decided state of lethargy Dr. Wall gives a more complete exposition of the varying effects, and shews them to be greater than I supposed." Dr. Wall summarises the difference in the action of cobra and daboia venom as follows:—

COBRA POISON.

1. The regular course is slowly advancing general paralysis coming on after an interval without symptoms, with especial paralysis of the lips, tongue, larynx and pharynx, and complete destruction of the respiratory function. Death is often attended by convulsions, which depend on asphyxia.

2. Very quickly destroys respiration. After slight acceleration there is sloughing, and excursus is lessened.

3. Kills birds and reptiles only after paralysis.

4. Doubtful if it affects the pupil. Salivation constant.

DABOIA POISON.

1. Commences its action by producing violent general convulsions, which often terminate fatally, or may be followed immediately by paralysis and death, or may also be recovered from, paralysis and death following later.

The paralysis is general, and lasts a considerable time after respiration is extinguished. No special paralysis of lips, tongue, larynx and pharynx.

2. At first quickens the respiration very much more than cobra poison does, and the lessening of the excursus and the retardation of the respiratory movements do not occur so soon.

3. Invariably kills birds and reptiles at once in convulsions.

4. Pupil always widely dilated. Salivation very rarely met with.

5. Effect on the blood slight. After recovery from nervous symptoms, no symptoms of blood-poisoning observed.

5. Effects on the blood very great. Sanious discharges the rule. Albuminuria is constant. After recovery from the nervous symptoms, the patient has to go through a period of blood-poisoning perhaps not less dangerous than the primary symptoms.

Dr. Wall says as regards the Rattlesnake-bite—"In its main features the *Crotalus* resembles the Indian viper in its effects, the chief difference being that the primary convulsions are very much less frequently seen." *Crotalus* poison is decidedly less dangerous than either that of the Indian cobra or that of the Australian *hoplocephalus*, and probably even than that of the *daboia*. We are told by an American Reviewer (Mr. Robert Fletcher) that ; ' Dr. J. B. de Lacerda, Director of the Physiological Laboratory of the national museum of Rio Janeiro, has been, during the last ten years, experimenting with the venom of Brazilian snakes, especially with that of *Bothrops Jararacassu*, a serpent which closely resembles its congener, the North American *Crotalus*, in the intensity of action of its venom. During that time, he has made general communications to the French Academy of Science. In 1872 Lacerda announced that he had discovered "figured ferments in the venom of serpents. He placed a drop of rattlesnake-venom under the microscope and saw the production of spores take place. The spores increased by scission and by internal nuclei. This has not been confirmed by further experiments." On this subject, however, Dr. de Lacerda writes to Sir Joseph Fayrer as President of the Medical Society, "I beg leave to protest against an opinion attributed to me by some of your colleagues, but which I have never sustained. I refer to the opinion that attributes to Bacteria the effects of the poison. I have weighty reasons for considering such an hypothesis is entirely false. I recognized, indeed, by means of repeated and careful observations, that the venom contains micrococcus in great numbers, and I made a communication on this subject some three years ago to the Academy of Sciences of Paris. These corpuscles, however, exist in the venom in an accidental manner, as also in the human saliva, and play no important part in the effects of the poison. This last acts as a chemical agent, producing a rapid alteration in the molecular composition of the albumina, which enters into the formation of almost all animal tissues. On the blood, given certain conditions, its effects are very rapid, almost instantaneous; the same happens with the nervous and other elements whose functions are disturbed immediately that the venom comes in contact with them. Now, such immediate action can never be attributed

to bacteria. You see, therefore, that this unsustainable theory cannot be invoked in endeavouring to explain the neutralising effects of permanganate of potash."

As regards the effect of the poison on the blood, Lacerda is said to have found that—"The blood of a poisoned animal presented the following phenomena: the red corpuscles began by presenting little shining points which increased until the globule broke down, and was replaced by numerous ovoid corpuscles, very brilliant, and possessed of oscillatory movements. The blood obtained from animals which had died from serpent venom, when injected into others hypodermically, invariably produced death in a few hours."

"But," says Mr. Fletcher, "the most interesting of Lacerda's discoveries was reported to the French Academy of Sciences in September 1881. After proving the inefficiency of various supposed antidotes, such as perchloride of iron, borax, tannin, and other substances, he found that the permanganate of potassium produced very remarkable results. He obtained his supply of poison by forcing the bothrops (the more deadly variety) to bite cotton wool, and the venom which poured out upon it was dissolved in eight to ten grammes of distilled water. A syringe full of this solution was injected into the cellular tissue of the thigh or groin of a dog. In from one to two minutes after, the same quantity of a filtered one per cent solution of permanganate of potassium was injected. The dogs, examined the next day, exhibited no evidence of injury except a trifling local irritation at the point of injection, nevertheless, this same solution of venom, injected into the tissues without the counter poison, produced great swelling, abscesses and extensive loss of substance."

But to quote again from Lacerda's letter to Sir Joseph Bayser:—

"Passing now to the essential point of the discussion that took place in the Medical Society, I will give, in a few words, how I comprehend, and how I judge that the efficacious effect of permanganate of potash should be comprehended. You yourself, by experiments made in 1869, recognized that permanganate of potash, mixed with the venom, took from it its noxious properties. Certain conditions of the experiments led you, however, to deny the efficacy of this chemical agent in the cases in which the venom had been inoculated in the tissues. As you know, however, I have demonstrated by numerous experiments and innumerable clinical facts, that the neutralisation takes place even in the midst of the tissues, which makes this substance a chemical antidote of great value. The permanganate of potash acts upon the venom, destroying it in two ways; first, as a powerful oxidising agent, second,

by the potash that forms the base of the salt, passing a current of nascent oxygen through a concentrated solution of the venom, which loses entirely its noxious properties. This experiment, which I have repeated many times, gave me always the same result. Let us suppose, now then, an individual is bitten. If injections are made in the place of the bite from five to ten minutes after the inoculation of the venom, this is promptly neutralized *in situ*, and the individual runs no further danger. A great number of facts have been observed like this in Brazil. If aid is given late, hours after the bite, when the tumefaction of the wounded part is very pronounced, and the phenomena that indicate the entrance of the venom into the circulation have already declared themselves, injections, repeated in various parts of the wounded members, parting from the wounds made by the fangs of the reptile, still give very good results. Nor is it difficult to explain the good results in this case. The venom, as I have said, acts, first locally, and only enters the general circulation, after the lapse of a certain time, and by portions. The permanganate of potash, meeting in the tissues with the venom, which is little by little diffused itself, neutralises it in the various points where it has been diffused, and thus stops the source of supply. The entrance of new and successive portions of the venom into the general circulation being thus impeded, the organism takes charge of the elimination of what has already been introduced, and which was insufficient to compromise the life of the individual."

My attention having been drawn to the subject by a notice in the *Englishman*, I performed nearly one hundred experiments with a view to settling the matter as regards cobra-poison, and the conclusions I arrived at are noted below. It is to be remarked that the poison experimented with by Lacerda was that of the Bothrops, a snake not nearly so venomous as the cobra; my conclusions were:—

I. That in dogs no appreciable symptoms of cobra-poisoning followed the hypodermic or intravenous injection of a watery solution of from 2 to 7 centigrammes of cobra-poison when previously mixed with from 1 to 3 decigrammes of permanganate of potash, though under ordinary circumstances such quantities hypodermically injected are more than sufficient to produce fatal results.

II. That when similar quantities of a watery solution of cobra-poison were hypodermically injected into dogs, and were followed either immediately or after an interval of four minutes (the longest interval I have yet sufficiently tested) by the hypodermic injection into the same part of a watery solution of permanganate of potash (1 to 6 decigrammes) no appreciable symptoms of cobra-poisoning resulted.

III. That when glycerine was used instead of water to dissolve the dried cobra-poison, the permanganate of potash appeared to have no power over the virulence of the virus.

IV. That after the development of symptoms of cobra-poisoning, the

injection of permanganate of potash, whether hypodermic or intravenous, or both, failed to exercise any influence upon the symptoms.

V. That permanganate of potash possesses no prophylactic properties, since death followed the hypodermic injection of $3\frac{1}{2}$ centigrammes of cobra-poison in watery solution in the case of a dog which had been hypodermically injected a few hours previously with 8 decigrammes of the agent in solution.

VI. That it would appear to be absolutely necessary that the permanganate to be efficacious should come into actual contact with the cobra-poison.

VII. That although no symptoms of cobra-poisoning followed the injection of cobra-poison and permanganate of potash, sloughing of the part injected sometimes followed.

VIII. That up to the present time it has never been experimentally shewn that any agent has either the power to neutralise the cobra-poison lying in the tissues, or to prevent death when four minutes had elapsed from the time of the injection of the poison to that of treatment.

IX. That if permanganate of potash has such power to destroy so subtle a poison as that of the cobra, it is probable that the hypodermic injection of the agent in the bite of a rabid animal would destroy the virus which causes that terrible disease—Hydrophobia.

And I have certainly seen no reason to modify or alter my opinions. Sir Joseph Fayrer's opinion as to the power of the permanganate may be gathered from the following extract from his address to the Medical Society of London "In a pamphlet (*Experiments on permanganate of potash, and its use in snake poisoning*), dated 1882. Richards says:—A solution of 5 per cent. of permanganate of potash is able to neutralise the poison," and recommends that this "should be injected into the bitten part after a ligature has been applied; it is less likely to cause sloughing of the tissues than any other agent which could neutralise the venom. In his letter dated July 22nd, 1882, he says, "It is, in my experience, the best local application we possess. It is not a physiological antidote, but a chemical one, and is utterly powerless to effect any influence on the lethal action of snake-poison (meaning constitutional action.) He is of opinion 'that whenever opportunity offers, the injection of permanganate of potash should be resorted to, assuming that a ligature has been applied (where it can be applied at all) within five minutes from the bite. In the average run of cases, the permanganate will certainly destroy the poison lying beyond the ligatured part, if it come in contact with it; but as Wall pointed out the difficulty of insuring its contact with the poison is so great, as to render it practically unreliable. I agree with Richards that so far as it goes, it is a good local application, and as such ought to be used, or in its absence, tannic acid or liquor potassæ might be resorted to with the same object, but as a constitutional remedy, as a physiological antidote, it is powerless, like all others that have been tried, and failed to do good. Dr. Lacerda

himself, although he attributes the highest value to it as a chemical antidote, both as a powerful oxidising agent, "and by the action of the potash, says, "as to the idea of finding a physiological antidote for snake-poisoning, I entirely agree with you that it is a Utopia." Although I found that liquor potassæ practically answered the same purpose as permanganate of potash, it did not decompose the venom, but merely destroyed the tissues in which the venom was lying, thereby preventing its absorption; and it was subsequently discharged with the slough. This was proved by the fact that when the venom and liq. potassæ were mixed and injected subcutaneously, no constitutional effects followed; but if the same mixture was diluted with water and injected into a vein, or into the peritoneal cavity of an animal, symptoms of cobra-poisoning were soon manifest and the animals died. Now, as to what really can be done in snake-bite, I am afraid very little: the first and most important indication is, to prevent the absorption of the venom into the general circulation. The ligature, excision and application, or injection, of a solution of permanganate of potash—5 *per cent.*—are the means to that end. If the poison gains access to the general system, then positively nothing can be done. It is usual to recommend artificial respiration and the exhibition of stimulants in moderation; but I fear they are really of very little use. Immediate amputation of the part would, of course, possibly save life, as might the ligature, &c., as before recommended. It is somewhat humiliating to have to confess that so far as the *treatment* of snake-poisoning is concerned, we are nearly as helpless as our forefathers were two centuries ago. Unfortunately, our helplessness is not confined to the cure of snake-poisoning, for there are several diseases in existence which baffle the skill and knowledge of the wisest and most learned of our profession. It is, however, some satisfaction to those who have spent the best part of their lives in conducting these disheartening investigations, to think that their work may, in some measure, serve as landmarks for the guidance, not only of future enquirers, engaged in the particular field which has been their special study, but of those who may be called upon to investigate the nature of any of the other animal poisons, which is at present shrouded in profound mystery.

We come now to the subject of the most recent researches into the physiological chemistry of the venoms.

In April 1883, Drs. S. Weir Mitchell and Edward T. Reichart, of Philadelphia, published a preliminary report on the chemistry of the venom of serpents, which, as they observe, represented only a part of an elaborate study of the poisons of all their own genera of serpents. They expressed

a hope that their study might include that of a number of foreign genera. "Our researches," they observe, "have of late been rewarded by so remarkable a discovery in toxicology, that it has been thought well to announce it here rather than to await their completion. We have, therefore, selected from our notes such material as seems to us of interest from its novelty."

They remark, that in drying the venoms of the *rattlesnake* and *moccasin*, there is a loss of nearly seventy-five *per cent*. This estimate agrees with the loss as regards cobra-venom. They point out as a singular fact that the venoms above-mentioned could be subjected to the boiling temperature of water (except the venom of the *Crotalus adamanteus*) without a complete destruction of their poisonous power; but with a noticeable alteration of their physiological properties. In the case of the *Crotalus adamanteus* or *diamond-back rattlesnake*, the toxicity of the venom is destroyed at a temperature below 80° C. (176° F.) It will be recollected that Wall found that the convulsion-producing properties of daboia-venom was destroyed at a temperature of 100° C., though the venom still retained its poisonous power. As regards the intensity of the venoms Drs Weir Mitchell and Reichart express an opinion which corresponds with that I have already given. They say, "beyond a doubt, cobra-venom is the most intense in its poisonous power, the venom of the copperhead next, then the moccasin and rattlesnake." The most important part of their paper is that in which they describe the chemical analysis of the venoms. They succeeded in isolating three proteids, *vis.* :—

Venom—Peptone

" Globulin

" Albumin.

The first two they say are poisonous, and the last innocent. According to them the venom-peptone is a "putrefacient," and the venom-globulin, a much more fatal poison, which probably attacks the respiratory centres and destroys the power of the blood to clot.

In the September number of the *Indian Medical Gazette* will be found a most important paper which I had the privilege to communicate, from the pen of Dr. R. Norris Wolfenden, late lecturer on physiology at the Charing Cross Hospital, London.

After paying a well-merited compliment to Dr. Wall, Dr. Wolfenden says, "Weir Mitchell and Reichart, in America, have for some time past been engaged in investigating this subject (of the chemistry of snake-poisons), and they have examined the venom of a number of snakes; chiefly American.

They are now completing their investigations, which will shortly be published by the Smithsonian Institute. One or two papers have appeared in America, already, from their pen. Though I have been trying for a considerable time to get these papers, I have hitherto been unsuccessful, and I am consequently in ignorance of the scope and character of their investigations. I think it right to say this before mentioning my own experiments, because it gives to my work that independent character that it properly possesses. It is only since I began my investigations into these animal poisons, that I have become acquainted with Weir Mitchell and Reichart's work, through a short contribution made to the *Lancet* of last year, in which he stated some results of their joint work. This had resulted in the separation from snake venoms of their proteid poisons, the one like a globulin, attacking respiratory centres, and preventing coagulum; a second resembling albumen, and being probably innocuous; a third like peptone, and being a "putrefactive poison." With some of these results I agree, but not with all. Dr. Wolfenden sums up the results of his investigations, but he remarks that they must not yet be regarded as complete. He says there are two poisonous elements in cobra-venom, viz :—

1. Cobra globulin-venom,
2. Cobra albumin "

And that they probably exist in different proportions in different secretions. What other albumins are present are not of the importance these two are. The globulin-venom poisons the respiratory centre, producing no paralysis of muscle; the cobra albumin venom does not affect the respiratory centre, but produces marked and progressive motor paralysis. Wolfenden points out further that "globulin venom is slower in its action than the albumin venom, and a longer period often elapses after the injection, before symptoms supervene and terminate life. The globulin is very deadly, and when once the symptoms have supervened, asphyxia rapidly ends the existence of the animal." There is a rather extraordinary difference of opinion between Mitchell and Reichert on the one hand, and Wolfenden on the other.*

* It is only bare justice to Drs. Weir Mitchell and Reichart, whose valuable work has extended over some years, to state that the researches which they have yet published were considered by them only preliminary, and that some of their statements might have to be modified or even, perhaps, withdrawn. *Original* researches are, of course, liable to error in some particulars, and if error there be, Dr. Mitchell will, I am sure, be the first to acknowledge it.

Perhaps, an idea of the difference will be best conveyed by a statement such as this :—

Proteids.		Weir Mitchell and Reichart.	Wolfenden.
Cobra Poison	Peptone ...	Poisonous : putrefacient	None present.
	Globulin ...	Attacks respiratory centre, and destroys power of coagulation of blood.	Attacks respiratory centre. Very powerful.
	Albumin ...	Innocent... ..	Less powerful. Produces motor paralysis.

In noticing these researches the editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette* remarks : "To trust to dialysis alone, in the attempt to separate the different proteids of snake-poison, is calculated to give most unsatisfactory results. Even a crystalline salt, which is readily dialysable, requires a period of several days for complete extraction by dialysis. It would be practically impossible to altogether extract a peptone, if, indeed, such is really present, in this way. Besides, in dialysing albuminous fluids, decomposition must occur, and not only may an active proteid thus lose its activity, but poisonous decomposition products, which did not exist in the original venom, may be formed in this way, and being readily dialysable, they will contaminate the crystalloid proteids. The products which Dr. Mitchell experimented with were obtained in this objectionable manner." Wolfenden adopted a recognized mode of precise chemical analysis so that his proteids were presumably of a fairly pure nature. Notwithstanding the great importance of these contributions, I cannot help believing that the active principles of snake-poisons are rather of the nature of animal alkaloids or ptomaines. Dr. Wolfenden has not yet accounted for the specific inflammation which occurs locally on the injection of snake-venom—especially daboia venom. Does the venom globulin act also as a "putrefactive agent"? The editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette* winds up his excellent article thus—"The important recent additions to our knowledge of snake-venom, and the increasing perfection of experimental methods, render the attainment of solid results much more easy and probable at the present time than hitherto. The time has now undoubtedly arrived for the institution of a fresh Commission to re-investigate a

subject of such admittedly vital importance." I doubt, however, whether a Commission is the best machinery for working out of these questions. If one man who is thoroughly conversant with all the recent methods of analysis, took up the subject, the results would be more satisfactory. And no better one could be found for the purpose than the *Editor of the Indian Medical Gazette*, Dr. Waddell. An investigator here has the advantage of being able to obtain a large quantity of venom, without which an analysis can scarcely be considered satisfactory; but at the same time, investigations could, of course, be conducted by that able physiologist Dr. Wolfenden, who has done so much in the study of animal poisons, and Drs. Weir Mitchell and Reichart, who have already spent so much time, labour, and money in these investigations.

December, 1884.

VINCENT RICHARDS.

ART II—DETECTIVE EXPERIENCES IN BENGAL.

"To try and approach truth on one side after another, not to strive or cry, nor to persist in pressing forward on any one side with violence and self-will—it is only thus, it seems to me, that mortal may hope to gain any vision of the Mysterious Goddess, whom we shall never see except in outline, but only thus even in outline. He who will do nothing but fight impetuously towards her or, his own, one, favourite, particular line, is inevitably destined to run his head into the folds of the black robe in which she is wrapped."—Mathew Arnold.

SHOULD any one be deceived by the title of this article into expecting a thrilling narrative, replete with the exploits, artifices, and stratagems of gifted police officers, in the detection of dark and horrid crimes, such as may be found in the pages of Waters and Lecoq, he will be grievously disappointed. Nothing is farther from my object than to cater for, not to say pander to, such a taste. I desire merely to offer some very sober and commonplace remarks on a detective scheme for India, by Lieutenant Colonel Ewart, Deputy Inspector General of Police in the Punjab.

The origin of this scheme appears to have been in this wise : The gallant and well-known officer, whose name it bears, being much struck with the imbecility of certain conclusions arrived at by the late Railway Police Commission to the effect that (1) detective ability among the natives of India is not common ; (2) that the supply has hitherto not kept pace with the demand ; (3) and that this condition of things must be accepted, has essayed to challenge their accuracy, suggesting that, if detective ability is not common in this country, it is because it has not hitherto been sufficiently nurtured and encouraged, and not because the quality is rare among natives. In other words, he denies the first and last of the Committee's conclusions, and admits only that, owing to the absence of encouragement, the supply of detective ability is deficient.

On other points Colonel Ewart and the Railway Commission are at one, and especially in regard to the undoubtedly large use made of the railway by the criminal classes, both as a field of operation, and as offering facilities for the commission of crime elsewhere, and for evading pursuit. And it is to provide a remedy for this state of things that Colonel Ewart has propounded his scheme of a detective police for India, having its head-quarters on the railroad. In the course of elaboration the wants and defects of the existing system of police presenting

themselves at every point, nothing short of a root and branch re-organization would suffice, and the scheme, as it stands, would be more properly entitled "A scheme for the reform of the police of India."

Apart from the consideration due to the opinion of an officer who has successfully devoted a quarter of a century to police affairs, the scheme is entitled to especial notice, inasmuch as it has been stamped with the general approbation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab who, thinking that "sound reasons have been adduced for the constitution of a detective force," has addressed the Government of India, with a view to the creation of such an agency. I therefore take advantage of Colonel Ewart's earnest invitation to critics, and at the risk of being dubbed an obstructive unbeliever, purpose to consider the numerous issues involved. I, too, have spent the best years of my life in the oftentimes unequal combat, everlastingly waged between criminals and the representatives of law and order; yet claim to bring to the enquiry rather views based upon a large number of facts, accumulated in various positions favourable to observation, than any natural aptitude for police work.

Colonel Ewart makes it a *sine quâ non* that his scheme be extended to the whole of India, for if confined to the Punjab "it would be emasculated of its chief advantage," and "prove more or less unsatisfactory and abortive." But my remarks must be understood to refer to Lower Bengal alone, unless where, from the context, it is clear that they are of general applicability. I have had no police experience in any other province, and my knowledge of police affairs elsewhere is gathered almost exclusively from print. The requirements of the Punjab, for aught I know to the contrary, may be vastly different from those of Bengal: still there are great principles of action which are true everywhere and in every state of society. And I think I may safely premise that before any great change is made, (1) the necessity for it should be shown; and, as, owing to the fallibility of everything human, it is probable that need of improvement in each and every department could be demonstrated; it is desirable that, (2), the necessity should be paramount. Further, it is desirable that the scheme of reform should be the best possible under the circumstances. Now, in regard to the necessity, Colonel Ewart urges that "although statistics may not appear to prove a *general* increase of crime, serious and undetected cases of murder for plunder, burglary and robbery, are largely increasing in extent." This postulate, however faithful to fact in the Punjab, is far from being true of Lower Bengal. The following table shows the number of serious offences against property committed in 1883 and remaining

undetected, contrasted with similar undetected cases of 1873. I have not carried the comparison further back, as the earlier figures cannot be trusted, except to show that these offences were then far more prevalent than at present :—

	Murders.		Dacoities.		Robberies		Burglaries.
1873 ...	236	...	222	...	222	...	24,013
1883 ...	189	...	92	...	111	...	17,016

That burglary, detected and undetected, is much too prevalent, may be freely admitted, as indeed may be safely granted in regard to all kinds of crime. That it is not so frequent as to cause much alarm to the community may be gathered from the following calculation : The actual number of burglaries which occurred in 1883 was 18,554 ; but in 8,211 cases no property was stolen. In 10,343 cases, successful from the burglars' point of view, Rs. 4,02,667 worth of property was plundered, of which Rs. 74,713 worth was ultimately recovered. These figures at first sight appear formidable, but when it is remembered that, excluding Calcutta, there are no less than, 1,07,66,383 houses in Bengal, and that, therefore, a burglary attended with loss occurs in each house, upon an average, only once in 1,031 years, while the value of the property carried off in each case averages only Rs. 39, of which about 18 per cent is recovered, the actual state of things does not appear so appalling.

It may, indeed, be alleged, that the above figures do not represent facts, and that not one half of the crime that occurs is reported. To this I reply that the burden of proof rests with him who makes the allegation. For some years past great attention has been paid to the collection and preparation of Criminal Statistics. Regular periodical attendance at police stations of village watchmen is enforced, and information regarding occurrences in their villages is extracted by a process of examination. The accuracy of their reports is frequently tested on the spot by superior officers of police, and every detected instance of neglect to report crime is visited by prosecution and punishment. Numbers of trivial and other cases are daily reported at considerable personal trouble to the reporter, which, so far as we can judge, might easily have been suppressed. In large areas the figures of one year resemble so remarkably those of another, except when disturbed by famine or other obvious causes, as to create a belief that crime is in the main honestly reported to the authorities. When there is a strong motive for concealment, no doubt it often takes place. Such, for instance, as when influential men are concerned, or undue pressure is brought to bear on police officers to keep down crime. When the practice of punishing chowkidars for each burglary occurring in their beats was

introduced into the Bhaugapur district, the number of reported burglaries was reduced by one half. Directly this practice was put a stop to, burglaries became as prevalent as before. Thefts of cattle, committed for the purpose of extorting black-mail, are often not reported, the owner, with a short-sightedness and want of public spirit, which must in the long run redound upon his own head, preferring to compound with thieves rather than embark in the uncertainties of a police enquiry. But the immediate question before me is not to what extent is crime concealed; and such an enquiry, however interesting, would take me too far afield.

Burglary and cattle thefts are undoubtedly great pests, and if Col. Ewart's scheme were likely to free the country of them, either partially or entirely, at a cost not disproportionate to the end accomplished, I for one would most heartily bid it God-speed. But nothing is said as to the exact process by which these crimes may be exterminated, and it seems to me that crime of so wide spread sporadic a nature, in the agricultural districts, at least, falls quite beyond the scope and ken of a detective agency such as is advocated. The cases of one district alone would, if success were to be achieved, absorb the energies of the whole department. For these offences are not the work of a small band of hardened criminals, but of whole castes, embracing sometimes upwards of a hundred thousand individuals, each and all of whom are, from their hereditary instincts thieves *in posse*, circumstances only being necessary to convert them into thieves *in esse*. For, given a pressing need and a fair opportunity, is there an Ahir in Shahabad who could resist the temptation to drive off to the jungles, there to be hid till redeemed, a herd of well-conditioned kine thrown by fortune in his path? Is there a Rajwar of Gaya who in his heart of hearts does not at least sympathize with a brother casteman caught burrowing like a rat through the mud wall of the village *bania*? I trow not. One of our greatest difficulties is the fine line between honest men and scoundrels. An outward semblance of respectability, such as was sustained by Peace, the celebrated London burglar, is far more common among criminals in this country than at home. By day a man may pursue the arduous calling of a cultivator, by night he may be preying upon his neighbours. Condonation, if not sympathy, exists as well in high as in lowly circles. I could mention several instances of criminals convicted of the worst offences, subsequently employed in posts of trust, by zamindars and others, with a full knowledge of their antecedents. Such men seem rather to be preferred than otherwise. The brother of a poisoner, some of whose confederates were executed, is at present pulling my office punkah, and has worked diligently at his post for many

years past. A ringleader of the same gang was found in a collectorate chaprassee, who after figuring as an approver, served for several years as a constable of police, and is now a gentleman at large. Another constable was denounced as a member of this gang and died, so to speak, just in time to save his life. Shaafudin, said to have poisoned hundreds of persons in the Upper and Lower Provinces, also began life as a policeman. A trusty chaprassee of Mr. W. Tayler proved to be a Thug. The assassin of Lord Mayo had been the favoured attendant of the children of the Commissioner of Peshawar. I mention these facts more as curiosities than by way of argument.

In regard to the use made by criminals of modern means of communication. Col. Ewart informs us, that skilled professionals are equally at home everywhere. They work through local bad characters; the rail, post, and telegraph, enabling them to preconcert with accomplices, to convey their weapons with safety to the scene of action, to despatch plunder to their homes, to escape or change the sphere of operations, to obtain funds for defence if caught.

He instances Pathan desperadoes from the Afghan frontier and Peshawar valley. "This ferocious, practically interminable, and therefore most formidable horde of criminals, familiar with the use of weapons, and absolutely reckless in taking life, scoundrels whose continued influx into India is daily increasing, is assisted by the arrival of the railway at the Khyber and at Quetta."

"The proceeds of a single theft or robbery enables these ruffians for about Rs. 25 to take a ticket from Peshawar to Cape Comorin. They freely use knives, which they conceal in parcels and forward through the agency of the post office to any city in India, following by rail themselves, without the slightest inconvenience or fear of detection.

"In this way, and often assisted by comrades serving in Native Regiments,* all over the country, they have spread depredation and frequent murder in every part of Hindustan, to the terror and deep injury of a population unaccustomed to the use of arms, and therefore timid, and comparatively helpless.

"And these facts, in addition to the scandal which they cast on British administration, are, unfortunately, at the same time, causes of the festering discontent, and silent yet profound consternation which they arouse in the people who have suffered."

* It is difficult to convince commanding officers, but it is nevertheless a fact, that native soldiers, especially Pathans, frequently engage in crime. Twice at Bhagalpur men of several regiments were caught in the act of committing burglary, and recently, at Cachar, similar instances have occurred. I could quote others if

This somewhat sensational account is, Col. Ewart assures us, no exaggeration, but incontestably true. And for the serious evil described he maintains that the above-mentioned departments are mainly responsible. "Whilst we have been playing at the true bureaucratic pastime of allowing the railway, post offices, and telegraphs to impoverish the police, criminals have been beforehand with us and have already taken advantage of the expenditure laid out by the country on railroads to enlist the lines in their services."

It is undeniable that some classes of criminals do largely use the railway, and that the extension of the lines has caused a great influx of most undesirable foreigners from Afghanistan and elsewhere, who travel over the country in the guise of horse-dealers, fruit-sellers, and what not, prey upon the people, and occasionally commit violent and heinous offences. It is also true that the post office is utilized by criminals, especially these foreigners, for the despatch of stolen property to their homes. But I take exception to the statement that these, or any other criminals are at home everywhere, and can work easily through local bad characters. This I think is exaggeration. I believe that Bill Sykes could as readily insinuate himself into a gang of Nadiya Bedyas as could an Afghan burglar. The distinctions of race, caste, and language render such an arrangement impossible. And this is an inestimable advantage we possess over the foreign criminal. Being unknown he is watched with suspicion. If detected no one sympathises with him. We often catch the Burwars of Oude thieving in the marts and fairs of Bengal, yet I cannot recall a single instance of their being associated with local bad characters. They have been known to recruit their ranks by enticing away Bengali children, but this is quite another thing. I do not mean to say that the unions in crime of men of different castes and creeds is unknown or even uncommon. The Thugs made converts to their unholy creed from amongst all sorts and conditions of men. This was a marked peculiarity of the fraternity, which distinguished them from ordinary criminals. Large gangs of dacoits often contain representatives of a variety of races, from the priestly Brahmin, and lordly Rajput, to the lowly but turbulent Goalla, or the meaner but equally courageous Dosadh. Such combinations are not, however, made upon the spur of the moment, nor upon slight acquaintance, and foreigners, or even strangers, are rigidly excluded. But I would ask, do not the police derive equal, if not greater, benefits than the criminals from the extension of railways, post offices, and telegraphs? If criminals can move about more rapidly, cannot also the police? If a thief gets the start of us, have not we the immense advantage of knowing on what road to look for him,

and, sometimes, a chance of overtaking him by telegraph? Cannot we, when sufficient occasion arises deprive him of the use of these appliances, whilst reserving all their advantages to ourselves? Then again, the use of these agencies costs money, which is, at least, as plentiful with Government as with criminals. Let me illustrate my meaning with a few facts within my own experience. Some years ago a Calcutta thief was recommended for enlistment as a constable by an orderly of mine, and whilst yet a recruit was told off to take this orderly's place for a few days, the orderly himself taking leave. He entered my bed-room at night, carried off and broke open my office box, and taking thence the key of the cash chest went to my office, and displayed it to the sentry, who, succumbing to the temptation, divided with him Rs. 1,000 in cash. On discovering the theft I remembered that the box had contained a note for Rs. 100. I procured the number, put an inspector on horseback, with orders to ride hard for the nearest railway station, take train to Calcutta, and there stop the note as speedily as might be. He found the thief cashing the note at the Bank of Bengal and brought him back by the next train. He was imprisoned for 2½ years, and strangely enough was brought before me some three years afterwards, when I was acting Deputy Commissioner of Police, in Calcutta, charged with burglary. I proved the previous conviction and he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. In my capacity of visitor of the jail I had the satisfaction of seeing that there was no undue lenity in the execution of the sentence! In this case a sharp Calcutta thief found the railway a double-edged weapon. The orderly had been sent to me by a Deputy Inspector-General, with a splendid character, and a request for early promotion. His treacherous breast was decorated with at least one medal for military services. I need hardly say he did not return from leave, nor could he be found at his home.

Some years later an abkari darogah absconded with a large sum of money. I asked my assistant, an exceptionally shrewd and trustworthy native officer, to endeavour to trace him. After a while he brought to me a boy who said that the darogah had taken him off suddenly by rail to a city three days' journey away. He was an ignorant lad and could tell us little more than that he travelled west, changed carriages several times, and observed that the telegraph posts, at first iron, were latterly stone. The Assistant Superintendent then discovered that the darogah had some friends in Hyderabad, so there we despatched a head constable, and two constables, with the necessary credentials, and a pair of handcuffs. After a week or so they returned triumphant with the truant whom they had found in that city, where according to one of Colonel

Ewart's witnesses "criminals are hidden for ever." Here again not only the railway, but the post—telegraph post especially,—stood us in good stead.

Major Ramsay in his recent work, "Detective Footprints," fully acknowledges "the efficient aid, afforded by the telegraph," and gives an interesting example.

Colonel Ewart himself, by the mouth of another witness, admits with reference to the telegraphic arrangements in Chicago, that "electricity circumvents the crooks." What is wanted is, that the police may have free use of these valuable auxiliaries. This of course is right, and so far as my experience goes, we are not stinted in this respect. True, our budget allotments under these heads are not magnificent, but there is not the slightest difficulty in getting them enhanced when real necessity arises.

In regard to being behind the times, and no better able to cope with the criminal than we were in 1861, I would ask Colonel Ewart whether he thinks that we have not a better knowledge of our criminals; whether they are not more closely supervised; whether we do not prove previous convictions with greater certainty, and thus secure heavier punishments; whether the Criminal Tribes' Act and other additions and amendments to the Criminal Code are altogether inoperative; whether the jail system has not been improved; whether reformatories are useless; whether the *Police Gazette* is waste paper; whether the lighting of towns is more favourable to thieves than to police; whether the use of photography, however limited, * has not afforded some aid; and, finally, whether the enhancement of State Revenue, the safety and facility of communications, the expansion of trade and commerce, the improved social condition of the people, and the protection against famine effected and secured by these very sinning railways, post offices, and telegraphs, is all of no avail? I will not do Col. Ewart the injustice to suppose that this is what he means, yet the gist of his indictment seems hardly to stop short of it, except where, with apparent inconsistency and curious phrasology, he attributes the eradication of the Thug in part "to the great strides which telegraphs, railways, and all the more recent advances which civilization has made in this country."

Another blot on our system of criminal administration, pointed out by Colonel Ewart as tending to an increase of crime is, that "justice often fails in its endeavours to convict through want of proper machinery for prosecuting; and professional murderers and robbers, of whose guilt there is no doubt, are

* Since this was written, sanction to the permanent employment of a photographer has been accorded to the Police Department by the Bengal Government.

often discharged on points of faulty technical procedure, and are again let loose on society." I venture to think that in the words I have italicized may be found an explanation of much that Col. Ewart deems unsatisfactory. It is a well-known weakness of police officers that they are prone to believe the first function of justice to be "*to endeavour to convict*"; and if a conviction be not obtained, they look upon the proceedings as a failure. They seldom reflect that the greatest of all failures, is when the innocent man is convicted instead of the guilty. This is a double calamity, for not only is needless injury caused, but the chance of relieving society from the depredations of the real criminal is much lessened. Bentham truly says, that every precaution which is not absolutely necessary for the protection of innocence affords a dangerous lurking place for crime. He might have added with equal truth, that nothing is more favourable to the guilty than neglect of necessary precautions for the protection of the innocent. The weakness of which I have spoken is by no means peculiar to India; it is common to police officers all over the world. It has been a source of frequent complaint against the Irish police, and pervades the whole system of French criminal administration. Sir Henry Hawkins, in a recent friendly address to the London police, especially warned them against the wrong attitude often adopted in seeking primarily to obtain convictions, and only secondarily, to satisfy the claims of justice. Serjeant Balfour comments on the same tendency, and cites several instances within his experience of endeavours made by the London police to convict people wrongfully. A notable example of this was the celebrated Pelizzioni trial where, owing to the police suppressing evidence as to the finding of the knife with which the murder was committed, the London public was scandalized by the spectacle of two persons lying under sentence of death for a crime which, it was clear, had been committed by only one.

Colonel Ewart quotes with approval the following passage from a paper by the late Major Newberry:—"In India we are daily proving more technical, and the difficulties of convicting the really guilty are much increased by the new Code of Criminal Procedure. We have no public prosecutors, and the power of the police to prosecute has been taken from them. The power of interrogation has been vastly reduced, and it may be justly said of our Indian Law, as a well known writer has said of the English law—"His (the prisoner's) whole treatment now-a-days seems like one continuous apology for putting him to the inconvenience of arrest, and an organised effort to shield him from the attacks of that society, whose peace he has probably broken; and the very same consideration is

shown him to the very end." Owing to there being no public prosecutor, and the power to prosecute having been taken from police officers, except inspectors, minor cases are perhaps not so well conducted as they might be, but in serious cases there is never any difficulty in obtaining the services of the Government Pleader, or, in exceptionally important cases, Counsel from Calcutta. Advice can be had for the asking from the Legal Remembrancer, and in Calcutta the police have the Government Solicitor and Advocate General at their elbow. Indeed, it is an open question whether the wretchedly poor and ignorant man, likely to be selected as the victim of a false charge, is not in this respect very much worse off than we are—more especially at sub-districts in charge of over-zealous young Magistrates bent upon reducing crime, and as yet too unsophisticated to believe that guile can find an abiding place in the breast of a sleek, intelligent, smartly-clad guardian of the peace*. I remember how, once upon a time, the scales fell from the eyes of an earnest young Magistrate, when, looking up suddenly from the record, he caught a hitherto much trusted Inspector displaying his outspread hand to a witness from whom the answer 'five' was necessary to the success of a case.

The case of Tafazzul, tailor, is given by Colonel Ewart, apparently as an instance of a gross failure of justice. 'This doughty knight of the needle figured as an approver in the case of the prosecution of a formidable band of Afghan robbers and assassins, and at the last moment retracted his evidence "cowed with threats that Amir Khan's Afghan friends would have life for life; he therefore chose the lesser evil and went to jail as a perjured witness" I do not know upon what evidence this view of the case is based, but I can say that, according to my experience, the explanation of Tafazzul's conduct might have been, with at least as much probability, that he was inveigled into a false confession by one or other of the police wiles of which Colonel Ewart can hardly be ignorant, and subsequently seeing through them, found too late that men betray. Granting that a tailor may be found with sufficient courage to join in such an enterprise, is not the improbability that he would dare, voluntarily, to peach upon such desperate accomplices, at least as great as the probability that having done so he would fall back upon a certain punishment in the, perhaps, vain hope of saving himself from a problematical one? Any

* *N. B.*—The Bombay Government has just set the good example of sanctioning the employment of a Pleader for the defence in all murder cases coming before the Court of Sessions, or the High Court, in which a prisoner is unrepresented, the cost being defrayed by Government. Since the above was written the Madras Government has taken similar action, and it now only remains for Bengal and the Upper Provinces to follow suit.

way, it is not clear how a perfect prosecuting machinery could have averted the catastrophe.

My views on these matters are naturally much influenced by my experiences at Gaya, where I found that the police had for many years systematically supplemented honest endeavours to unravel crime by the fabrication of false evidence against innocent persons. This was managed principally through a gang of criminals of a desperate type whose very existence was unknown, except to the subordinate police. It was the interest of this gang to keep crime going, and a right merry time they had of it. The police were propitiated by a share in the spoil, and the secret insertion of a portion of the stolen property into the houses of innocent men, whereby it was found easy to extract false confessions implicating others. Though serious crime did not abate, the police were thus enabled to point to a fair percentage of convictions. Often the wretched victim, finding that he had been deluded by false hopes, retracted his confession, alas! too late, and like Tafazzul was sent to jail, or the case so carefully prepared by the police, altogether collapsed. Recantations are often attributed to the influence of fellow-prisoners and inuktars, or to a revulsion of feeling on the part of the prisoner, and these hypotheses may, in some cases, be correct, but I venture to say that, except where denial is obviously useless, full admissions of guilt, not followed by recantations, or substantial benefits to the confessor, are very rare. Latterly, the Gaya Police, emboldened by success, or seeking to vie with certain officers of a neighbouring district, who had attained celebrity for skill in the detection of mail robberies, caused a number of these offences to be committed, and astonished the public by the unwavering certainty with which they discovered the plundered property. Remembering the adage that those who hide can find, my suspicions were at last fairly aroused, and awaiting my opportunity, I was at length rewarded with ample proof of the guilt of the police. With the loyally rendered aid of a native officer, sent specially to assist me,—the same who subsequently tracked the Abkari darogah to Hyderabad—I succeeded in exposing the whole nefarious business, and bringing the offenders to punishment. The evidence was much strengthened by the confessions of two sub-inspectors, one before and the other after conviction, to the effect, *inter alia*, that the confessions of their victims were utterly false! Here, at any rate, we have indisputable proof that confessions, though strongly corroborated, may yet be false. For the confessions of the victims had been corroborated to the satisfaction of their judges, and those of the police officers, to the satisfaction of the judge who tried them, and of the Inspector-General of Police, who personally tested the

evidence. Finally, after reviewing the whole proceedings, the Bengal Government expressed itself in the following terms:—"Mail robberies, which were formerly of frequent occurrence in the Patna Division, have entirely ceased since the removal from the police force of all officers, and men believed to have been implicated in the fabrication of false charges. There is little doubt that most of the mail robberies for many years past were committed with the connivance of the police, who shared the plunder, and then raised their own reputation by securing the conviction of either innocent persons or some of their own accomplices."

When the practice of extorting confessions was common all over India, many were the devices of the old police for this purpose, some horribly cruel, other ludicrously ingenious. Here is an example of the latter:—on the occurrence of a dacoity a number of suspected persons were seized, taken to the thanah, and separately confined. A sack was then well flogged by one burkundaz, whilst another howled piteously, vociferating that he would tell all if only mercy were shown him. A pause then took place, after which the most likely victim was informed that a confession had been made which implicated him, and that if he did not confess also, the effects of a similar castigation would be tried. If he declared he had nothing to confess, he was told that this was immaterial. He need only make a statement corroborating that of the man who had implicated him, and the police would make it their business to ensure his escape as a witness for the crown. His story was then taught him and the darogah's case began to look up.

The days of extorting confessions by downright personal violence, regardless of the injuries inflicted, or marks left, are I am sure, long past. I regret I cannot speak so confidently in regard to other methods. Recently a sub-inspector of Gaya was shot dead by a secret assassin, and when a cause for his murder was being sought for, it appeared that he had tortured a man and his daughter-in-law in the most disgusting manner, without inflicting any bodily harm, in order to extract a clue in a theft case. Nothing of this was even suspected till the man had been shot and a searching enquiry set on foot. Twice in former years I attempted to establish charges of resorting to violence against this man, but failed, from the ease with which evidence can be tampered with, or suppressed, especially by the police. When I was at Dinapore a Sub-Inspector tortured a poor wretch by pouring water over him, and fanning him, on a cold night in January. He died from the effects, and the sub-inspector expiated his crime at the Andamans. In Nuddea when I was there, an Inspector, the best educated and fairest spoken native officer it has ever been my lot to meet, tortured

four men by trussing and suspending them from the roof, head downwards. Both of these cases may be found mentioned in Dr. Norman Chevers' valuable work on medical jurisprudence—a work in which instances of mental and bodily torture, inflicted to extort confessions may be found *ad-nauseam*. Atrocities of the kind above described are, I hope, now very rare, and false confessions are usually obtained by means not involving bodily torture.

No provision of the law is held in greater contempt, and more systematically disregarded by subordinate police officers than that which provides that no inducement shall be held out to an accused person to confess. In such slight estimation is it held, that more than once police officers have boldly stated to me that confessions were obtained by means of illegal, if not false, promises. Colonel Ewart himself bears testimony to this. He writes:—"To bring charges to conviction, the police apply torture to suspicious persons, or they induce them to confess under promise of pardon or acquittal. *Innocent persons are often thus condemned.* Even if the innocent man be hanged, the police feel no compunction, so long as they receive favourable reports in their service books, and the good opinion of their superior officers." I could even cite one instance, in which credit was given to a police officer by the provincial head of the force for inducing a prisoner to confess. The English police are little, if at all, better than their Indian brethren, in this respect. Recently a county Magistrate wrote to the papers to expose a trick by which, to evade this law, the confession is extracted by one policeman, whilst another, the enquiring officer, swears that he has held out no inducement. The Magistrate complained that he had brought the matter to the notice of the chief of the police force concerned, but with no result.

A word about corroboration—nothing carries conviction more surely to the minds of inexperienced judicial officers than the so-called corroborative evidence often produced by the police—it seems to escape them that corroborative evidence can as easily be fabricated as any other. I remember an instance of an officer in charge of a police station falsely recording in his register the absence from home of certain bad characters on a particular night, with a view to aid a neighbouring police officer in getting up a case against them several months afterwards. It is by no means difficult to persuade a person who has been robbed to corroborate a false confession, and recoup his own loss by falsely identifying valuable articles found in the house of a victim, and resembling the property stolen. On one occasion, in my experience, an artifice of this kind was exposed and defeated in a most unexpected and decisive manner. The pro-

perty in question was a quantity of silver ornaments. The accused asked the Judge to examine closely a pair of armlets. He did so, and observed that a link was missing from one of them. The accused then asked the complainant what had become of the missing link, and was told, in reply, that it had been lost long before. The mother of accused was then called and produced a link which tallied exactly with the rest of the armlet. The police endeavoured to discredit this evidence by searching in the bazaar for a similar link, but they failed to find one. Ultimately it was discovered that the robbery had been the handiwork of the police themselves.

A pernicious custom of making over to the police, for purposes of further enquiry, persons who have been arrested on suspicion, or have made a hasty, untested confession of guilt, affords the police excellent opportunity to extort confessions and fabricate corroborative testimony. In a case of this kind, which came under my notice, an accused person, against whom there was no evidence to speak of, on his return to jail asked to be shaved. The barber put down his razor, for an instant, whereupon the prisoner seized it and made a genuine attempt to cut his own throat. He explained that the treatment he had experienced at the hands of the police had made him desperate. In two other cases, within my experience, persons in police custody, charged with minor offences, took the earliest opportunity to hang themselves leaving the world to guess, if it could, the cause of their premature end.

It may be asserted that the abuses I have described could not have taken place if the superior officers of police had done their duty. To this I reply that the reputations of many of our best officers are at stake. I myself had been longer in the Gaya district than any of my predecessors, when I discovered what was there going on. Besides it is an old, old, story, that men are loth to see what they do not wish to see. Nothing was more clearly established than this by the shocking revelations of the Madras Torture Commission. This is what Mr. Grant wrote on the subject :
"I cannot rise from a perusal of the Torture Report without feeling that there has been a degree of blindness, slowness, dulness and inaction in the Madras Collector-Magistrates in relation to the practice of realising revenue by torture, which certainly so many active and intelligent gentlemen would not have shown if the torturers had been private persons, and the object had been something in which these Collector-Magistrates had no official interest. I say this with sorrow, and I make allowance for the false position in which these officers were placed."

Nor was the evil confined to Gaya alone: a reference to the records of neighbouring districts showed that the police there had little cause to boast of moral superiority. In one district a ringleader of the Gaya gang had been used by the police to *lagan** stolen property, and being caught in the act by the owner of the house and prosecuted, cited the other members of the gang as witnesses to his character, and certainly no one had a better knowledge of it. In another case a member of the gang had the effrontery to appear before an unsuspecting Judge as a respectable, formal witness to the finding of stolen property by the police in a house where he himself had previously secreted it!

In another district a pet detective would, but for an unbelieving jury, have encompassed the conviction of certain innocent persons for robbing the mail, the evidence against them being the finding of the valueless and rejected plunder in their houses. The valuable portion of the plunder was found two years afterwards in another district in the possession of thieves, suspected of being in league with the police of a third district. In this third district a person narrowly escaped conviction for robbing the mail, *on his own confession, corroborated by the digging up of a mail bag*. Fortunately for him the postal authorities repudiated the bag, and a split in the police camp caused the production of the real bag, and the conviction of another person who certainly was less guilty than the police themselves. This case attracted the notice of Mr. Turton Smith, then attached to the Postal Department, and had that gentleman's shrewd suspicions been followed up, the later villainies at Gaya might never have occurred.

Sir J. B. Phear in his recently published work entitled "an Aryan village in India and Ceylon," gives a graphic picture of police action in Bengal, which, impressed as I am with my experiences at Gaya, seems to me so remarkably faithful, that I take the liberty of quoting it *in extenso*. Mr. Monro has officially denied its truth generally, yet the writer's experiences were not brief nor confined to one locality. Nor can he be charged with entertaining a prejudice against natives. He writes: "There can be no doubt that in some parts of Bengal the profession of a dākait is sufficiently lucrative to tempt idle men to brave its risks. If somewhat irregular measures were not taken to suppress it, probably it would attain unendurable dimensions. Accordingly, the police may sometimes be found waging a warfare against dākaiti which is characteristic. When information of a dākaiti having been committed reaches the thannah, a darogah, with a few chaukidars,

* *Lagan lagānā*, means to implicate by means of fabricated evidence.

goes at once to the spot. He satisfies himself by inquiries as to who are the reputed *budmashes* of the neighbourhood, and then immediately arrests some one, two, or three of them, such as he thinks will be most likely under the circumstances of the case, to serve his purposes. Having thus got these unfortunate men into their hands, the police, by promises of pardon, coupled with material inducements, which in most cases, amount to a refined system of torture, procure them to make confessions and to implicate a great many others of the previously ascertained *budmashes*. The next step, of course, is to arrest all these and to search their houses. At this stage of matter the complainant is in a position, such as to render him a ready tool of the police. He will have a nest of hornets about his ears for some years to come, unless he succeeds in bringing a conviction home to each of the arrested men. So he seldom finds much difficulty in recognising in the searched houses articles which had been stolen from him. If, however, for any cause, he cannot at first do this, the police have recourse to a very simple expedient for the purpose of assisting him. They obtain from the bazar or elsewhere articles similar to those which the complainant says he has lost ; and under color of watching the prisoners' houses, manage to get these articles secreted in or about the premises, according as opportunity may offer itself. About this time the sub-inspector or other officers, charged, as it is termed, with the investigation of the case, comes upon the ground. Also the prisoners, who have all of them been separately, and constantly worked upon by the police, have generally become pliable enough to confess, in accordance with the story marked out for them, and sometimes even are persuaded to point out (under the guidance, of course, of the *chaukidars*) the very places where the imported articles have been concealed ! These places are generally, for obvious reasons, more often outside the accused person's homestead than inside, such as in tanks, trunks of trees, under the soil of the *khēt*, &c. But sometimes opportunity serves for placing the articles inside the very hut of the dwelling. The inspector on his arrival thus finds his case complete ; he takes it before the magistrate ; the evidence of the witnesses is written down ; the articles are produced and sworn to. It seems that they have all been found in the prisoner's possession in consequence of information, or clues afforded by the prisoners themselves, and the case for the prosecution is overwhelming. But even the very last nail is rivetted by the prisoners, or most of them, confessing in the most satisfactory manner possible. Thereupon they are all committed to take their trial at the sessions in due course. On entering the prison-walls, the state of things changes very

much. The committed prisoners are relieved from the immediate personal supervision and control of the police. They converse freely with one another, and with the other prisoners waiting trial ; they also communicate with mooktears, or law agents, concerning their defence. They find that whether innocent or guilty, they have made great fools of themselves by confessing at the police dictation ; and the upshot of it is that, when the trial in the sessions court comes on, they all plead not guilty, and say that their former confession were forced from them by the police. This, however, avails them but little. Their recorded confessions are put in against them and the court, with the remark that prisoners always do retract when they get into jail, holds that the confessions are supported by the discovery of the articles, convicts the prisoners, and sentences them to long terms of imprisonment or transportation. When a case of this character occurs, the Sessions Judge is not usually quite unconscious of the police practices in these matters, but he is almost invariably in the particular case before him (and often rightly) so convinced of the guilt of the persons whom he is trying, that he is astute enough to find out reasons why the confessions produced in evidence were made voluntarily, and why the alleged finding of the stolen articles may be depended upon. On a comparatively recent occasion of this kind the Judge said, that he could not help seeing that the police had behaved very cruelly to the prisoners, and had made them illegal promises of pardon in order to extort confession, but still he thought that the discovery of the articles on the premises of the different prisoners (effected by the way, in a more than ordinarily suspicious manner) entirely corroborated, and rendered trustworthy, the confessions which were made. The mode of action on the part of the police, which is above illustrated, is a survival from former times, and is from its nature very difficult of riddance. The tendency of the Bengal policeman seems to be to force out truth rather than find out truth. He is not apt at building up a case with independent and circumstantial materials, drawn from various sources, and would certainly never willingly venture to present to the court which has to try the case, merely the constituent materials, leaving the court itself to put them together. He feels it necessary to take care that some, if not all, of the witnesses should narrate the whole case from beginning to end. There is also extreme readiness in the lower classes of Bengalis, when under coercion or pressure, as in all whose civilization is of a servile order, to say anything to the extent of accusing themselves, which they may be led to think will smooth the way out of immediately impending danger ; and this is coupled with extraordinary quickness at

perceiving the existing state of things, comprehending what will be agreeable to those who care for their information, and making their statement consistent therewith. The police are, therefore, naturally under great temptation to avail themselves of a means of evidence which lies so near to their hands, and is so entirely adapted to their purpose. But bad as confessions of prisoners, evidence of accomplices, declarations of dying men, who have played a part in criminal occurrences, generally are in Europe, they are, for the cause just mentioned, greatly worse in Bengal. They cannot safely be relied, upon even as against the speakers themselves, except as a sort of estoppel, unless they be corroborated. As against others, they are of hardly any value at all. If the circumstances of native society were not such that suspicion commonly directs the police to the real offenders, convictions, on a basis such as that exemplified in the text, could not be tolerated. *

It was at Gaya, in connection with the fabrication cases, that I first came to realize to its full extent the greatest of our difficulties in the prosecution of cases, *viz.*, the ease with which witnesses in this country can be tampered with. Here the criminal with money has a distinct advantage over the public prosecutor. It is often in the power of a perjured witness to spoil a good case with little or no danger to himself. In regard to pure legal technicalities, however, we are certainly not worse off than the police at home. Charges of house-breaking by night do not fail, because we cannot prove the hand of the clock to have passed the hour of nine. Nor are indictments quashed because two stolen stockings prove not to be a pair. Admitting, then, that "justice does often fail to convict" guilty men, is it not clear that unfortunately there is much to be put to the *per-contra* side of the account? When Sharafudin, the poisoner, unburthened his guilty breast, it was found that two innocent persons had been convicted of crimes committed by him. One of them managed to get acquitted on appeal, perhaps on some "technical point of faulty procedure"! In a recent number of this *Review*, it is related that, not many years ago, in the city of Amritsar, torture was resorted to, under European supervision, with the result, that perfectly innocent men confessed to the murder of Mahomedan butchers who had really been put to death by Kúkas under the influence of religious fanaticism. The unfortunate men who had falsely confessed were sentenced to death, and were only saved from suffering the extreme penalty of the law by the accidental discovery of the real

* See also a note on some of the methods resorted to by Police Officers to extort confessions, communicated to Dr. Norman Chevers, by a trustworthy native gentleman, and published at pp. 573-74 of his work on Jurisprudence.

murderers on the occasion of the Kúkas' attack on Maler Kotta." About 1874 a victim of the Howrah Police escaped the gallows only, by the unexpected appearance of the person he was charged with murdering, who had been represented at the trial by a bundle of bones! Even in England, where the machinery of the law is believed to be freer from imperfections than is the case in India, several unhappy instances of wrongful conviction have occurred in recent years, and Sir Alexander Cockburn, to his honour be it spoken, made it one of his first duties when he came to power, to make what reparation was possible. If then, our legal machinery is to be improved, let not the real ends of justice be lost sight of, in an over-anxiety to support the police, already powerful enough.

A further cause of inefficiency is said by Colonel Ewart to be the cellularity of our police system and a want of continuity in, and co-operation between, the police forces of the different districts, provinces, and native states. In Bengal, every branch of the force, with one important exception—the Calcutta police—is under the control of one officer, the Inspector General, aided by two deputies. Isolation is prevented and uniformity secured by means of these three inspecting officers. They visit every district as frequently as may be, never less than once a year, and communicate the result of their wide experiences, to the various district superintendents, personally, and by letters, circulars, and the *Police Gazette*. That their control is in most respects real, will, I am sure, be vouched for by every district superintendent. In the Panjab, the province is parcelled out among three Deputy Inspectors General, a system long ago abandoned in Bengal, and to this extent is more cellular than Bengal. Continuity of action is said to be impossible, because the several Deputy Inspectors General have different ideas. The Inspector General is said to be isolated, and unable to make himself felt, his work falling to the lot of young personal assistants, who want the experience necessary to ballast their opinions. This state of things, no doubt, requires remedy, and a trial might be given to the Bengal system where the work of supervision over a larger, more populous, and perhaps, on the whole, more impracticable area is performed, with fair efficiency, by one officer less than is employed in the Panjab. When, by the further extension of railways, or the appointment of another Deputy Inspector General, it becomes possible for each supervising officer to visit annually and spend several days in every district of the province, then, and not till then, will the division of duties, proposed by Colonel Ewart, be an advantageous reform.

In regard to the important exception of Calcutta, I am inclined to think with Mr. Wauchope, that to absorb its police

into the general body of the constabulary would be to weaken both by too great centralization. It would, perhaps, be better to extend the metropolitan police jurisdiction, so as to include within its grasp the numerous townships lying within a radius of a few miles, and affording a refuge to the criminals whose field of operations is the city of Calcutta. With respect to other provinces, there is no doubt a break of continuity in police action, but the effect of this is much mitigated by the presence of natural obstacles to inter-communication, such as sparsely inhabited mountain-ranges, jungle tracts, broad rivers, difference of race, creed, and language. The police isolation is indeed less than exists between the various countries of Europe. Only a year or two ago Great Britain itself was cut up into no less than 290 distinct police districts, and the head constable of a little Kentish or Devonshire borough was just as much an autocrat in his own little circle as the chief constable of a large country or borough. In some instances, and notably British Burmah, there is little or nothing to be gained by greater centralization. Assam was deliberately severed from Bengal because the two together were found unmanageable.* It is impossible to weld into one homogeneous whole, elements so discordant and incongruous as are to be found in the several police forces of the great continent of Hindustan and its dependencies. At the same time, I agree with Colonel Ewart, that our railway police jurisdictions should, as a rule, be conterminous with railway managements. And the experiment might be tried of a body of specially trained police, located on the railways at frontier posts, and strategic points, to watch for criminals passing from one province to another. The value of this last measure would, however, probably be found to be less in practice than appears on paper.

There should, too, I think, be some officer with a taste for the business and sufficient leisure to make a special study of organized and ramified crime and to act as adviser of Government on the one hand, and the local police on the other. The Superintendent of Thuggee and Dacoity might, I fancy, be made available for this purpose.

In the eyes of Colonel Ewart, the most important defect of all in existing police arrangements, is the want of a special and efficient detective agency, acting under one head, and carrying its feelers by means of the railway into every nook and corner of the country. The inability of the ordinary police to deal with the wide-spread crime of cattle-theft, which particularly harasses the people, and injuriously affects their prosperity, is, Colonel Ewart thinks, "alone sufficient to prove the necessity

* The last Gazette notifies the fact, that the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been formed into an independent Police charge.

for improving existing detective ability in the police." The precise method by which a detective force would improve off the face of the land this troublesome evil is not described. "What the people of the Punjab want, first and foremost, is, security for their persons and property," says one of Colonel Ewart's witnesses; "until we give them this, it is like offering them a stone for bread, to construct their canals, roads, and railways." But as we have sought to shew, it is these very canals, roads and railways which do more than anything else in the way of affording protection to life and property. "One of the most important advantages to the detective police (and for this purpose it must be well paid) will be to secure information for government, and curtail the evil of professional agitation, religious, political, and foreign." Well and good, provided that this can be effected without establishing a hateful system of espionage such as exists in France and Russia. It is related that when this system was at its height, in France, under the first Empire, even the Empress Josephine herself was a paid agent, bribed to betray the secrets of her illustrious husband to the crafty Fouché. At present, in Russia, every other hotel keeper or cab-driver, for aught one knows, may be an emissary of police. "Now that all is over, I may as well inform you that I was told to keep an eye on you," said a Muscovite to a friend, after the coronation; "and I had orders to seize you at the first movement you made," replied the friend. This story hardly exaggerates the state of police tyranny to which people are subjected in the country of the Czar.

Be it remembered, too, that the ministry of 1831-2 were so "monstrously indiscreet" as to use the London police as political spies, and thereby played into the hands of William Cobbett, who devoted the last years of his life to hunting out instances of oppression and corruption on the part of the newly established force. If precedent and experience be of any value, then, it is a measure of doubtful expediency employing detectives in matters political.

It may be as well here to take a glance at the detective agencies at home and abroad. In the year 1851, so says a Parliamentary Report, the police of London attained its highest point of efficiency under the able management of Sir Richard Mayne, who died in 1868. It was under this *regime* that inspectors Whicher and Field, the latter immortalized by Dickens in the character of Inspector Buckett, achieved renown, and that the greatest feat of modern detection was accomplished, *viz.*, the tracing to New York, and capture of Franz Müller, the murderer of Mr. Briggs. Yet Colonel Henderson, who succeeded Sir Richard Mayne, found at Scotland Yard a special force of only 17 Detectives, *viz.*, 1 Superintendent, 4

Inspectors, and 12 Sergeants. He at once set to work to increase this force, which ultimately numbered some 300 of all ranks. The increase was certainly accompanied by a diminution of grave crime, but this was attributed by the Home Secretary as much to the beneficial effects of reformatories, established all over the country, as to anything else. Moreover, the night watch was largely supplemented, in parts of the town where crime was most common, by bodies of the police, deputed specially for purposes of patrol. At first everything went merry as a marriage-bell. Then came the Benson, Meiklejohn, and Druscovitch scandals. The special force fell into disrepute, the very name of detective was abhorred, and Mr. Howard Vincent was installed as chief of the criminal investigation department. This department was, when he entered it, "a hot bed of corruption." He cleansed it morally, and imparted to it a higher and purer tone than had ever prevailed before. His system was open and above board, and is thought by many to have failed by reason of its too great publicity. The *Saturday Review* complained that its first business appeared to be to supply copy to the newspapers, owing to which it had become "a rule to which there is hardly any exception, that an offender escapes unless a confederate betrays him, or he is starved into surrender. If he is caught by a policeman, it is because some provincial officer has gone to work on his own account."

Mr. Vincent's views as to detection differed widely from Colonel Ewart's. For instance, he wrote, "the idea that a detective to be useful in a district, must be unknown, is erroneous in the great mass of cases, as he is then unable to distinguish between honest men, who would help a known officer, and others." At the same time he deprecated the other extreme. The proceedings of the dynamiters, whereby he was nearly blown up in his own office, were followed closely by his retirement, and the investigation of crime in England is now in the hands of Messrs. Jenkinson and Monroe, both retired Indian Civilians. Mr. Jenkinson is, I believe, an advocate of the approver system, by means of which he made his reputation in Ireland, when the Dublin detectives were at a nonplus. Mr. Monroe has left a mark upon the Bengal Police which it would take years of neglect to efface. He never, so far as I am aware, advocated the resuscitation of a detective department in Bengal. What then the future of this branch will be in London it is at present impossible to predict. Certain, however, it is, that if Sir W. Harcourt's public utterances are to be believed, there is no present intention of placing it on the footing of the Paris or Berlin detective forces.

The only other European detective system with which I am

to any extent acquainted is the much vaunted French system. The French police may be a more complete and efficient piece of machinery for the purposes in view than the English police, but its merits are, according to our ideas, more than balanced by its defects, and the mischief it works. And I for one decline, in the absence of better proof, to believe in the extraordinary success often attributed to its detective branch. I will illustrate my generalization by an instance of want of skill and mischief done. Mr. Grenville Murray, a highly respectable London merchant was, only two or three years ago, detained for four weeks in a Parisian gaol and subjected to all sorts of privations and indignities, in comparison with which the treatment of Mr. Walker at Purneah was as nothing, before the clever Paris detectives could satisfy themselves that he was not one of a gang of Russian Nihilists. He was confined *au secret*, subjected to frequent interrogations, and finally shut up with a *mouton*, or spy-prisoner, charged with the duty of worming out his secret. This is his account of his third appearance before the Juge d' Instruction. "He was insolent, brutal, full of menaces, saying that I had greatly deceived him, that my accomplices had made full avowals, implicating me as the chief author of the conspiracy against the Czar's life, and that as I now stood in danger of my head, it behoved me not to show ignorance any longer, but to make what atonement I could for my foul crime by ample confession. There was not a word of truth in the judge's statement, for I subsequently learned that the police had not succeeded in arresting the Russians, but the unhappy man was putting forth all the artifices of a trade which obliges him to bully and lie, or to wheedle and lie, according as it may serve his purpose. He raved because he could make no case against me, and was bound to try the effect of a little terrorizing, so as to satisfy his conscience. that he had tried every means of getting. at the truth."

"He ended by working himself up into a regular passion and remanded me again for a fortnight." It will be observed that whilst this farce was being enacted the real criminals, of whom Mr. Murray had given his captors a minute description, had passed through Paris and made good their flight to Russia. This is not a case of misconduct on the part of an individual, but part and parcel of the unwholesome French system. Mr. Murray found many other prisoners undergoing a similar ordeal. If further illustration be wanted, it may be found in the cases of Le duc de Praslin, Madame Lemoine and the monk Le'otade in the affair of St. Cyr, cited in the works of Goodeve and others on evidence.

The *mouton*, or spy-prisoner dodge, has been occasionally

resorted to on the British side of the channel. Holloway and Haggerty were convicted in London in 1807, on evidence thus obtained, and in consequence a riot took place at their execution, which resulted in serious injury or death to nigh 100 persons. The manœuvre was also tried and failed, I believe, at Dublin, in connectfon with the murders of Mr. Burke and Lord F. Cavendish.

What I am in search of, and have hitherto failed to find, is some authentic instances of French detective superiority, which cannot be matched by an equal number of instances of skilful detection under the English system. Why is it that French papers are so fond of attributing their undetected crime, such, for instance, as the great robbery of St. Denis, to '*les rossignols Anglais*'? If the French detectives are so surprisingly cute, how is it that Paris is a favourite hunting-ground of the London swell-mob? If the London police are so remarkably inferior, how is it *les Grecs* of Paris do not oftener visit the wealthiest city of the world?

Turn we now to experiences in the East. The first institution of the nature of a detective force attempted by the English in India was the far-famed department for the supression of Thuggee and Dacoity, created by Lord William Bentinck about 1830. The Thugs had been long known to exist, much as death is known to be ever present; but it was not till 1810 that the British power became fully alive to the fact that these miscreants were no myth, begotten of Hindoo fancy and fairy-tale legend, but a positive and daily reality, who were daily, nightly, nay hourly strangling unfortunate way-farers in all parts of the country. Spasmodic and ineffectual efforts were then made to exterminate the unholy society; but it was reserved for Major Sleeman to accomplish this. The immediate circumstance which led to the establishment of a special organization for the suppression of Thuggee is thus narrated by Meadows Taylor. "One evening in 1829, as Major Sleeman, then the Deputy Commissioner of the Saugor District, was seated at his tent door, a man, advancing rapidly, threw himself at his feet, and begged to be allowed to make an important communication, but that Mrs. Sleeman should withdraw. He then proceeded to relate that he was the leader of a gang of Thugs, then not far off, and that the grove at Numdésur, in which Major Sleeman's camp was pitched, was full of corpses of travellers who had been murdered. Next day the hideous proof was given by exhumation of dead bodies where he pointed out their graves, and no time was lost in apprehending the gang to which the leader had belonged. Many of them became approvers, and by degrees circle after circle of information spread till they covered all India."

An idea of the approver system, as applied to the Thugs, may be gathered from the following brief summary of facts, taken from some lectures on Indian History delivered by the late Sir James Stephen to the students of Haileybury College—"The special police were absolved from all responsibility to any Court of justice, or to any local government. The English attachment to the writ of *habeas corpus* was 'got rid of.' The new police were authorized to detain suspected men in jail for any length of time whatever. They were authorized to put not only damaging questions to the accused, but even to 'worm the TRUTH (?) out of them by promises of pardon, if so they might be tempted to betray and turn approvers.' It was not deemed at all necessary to prove a criminal act against an accused man in order to imprison him. The first gang of Thugs ever seized was actually detained in prison for *seven years* without their guilt being proved. At last, however, it was 'made known to them' that evidence sufficient to procure their conviction had been obtained, 'on which these men finding there was no use in holding out, confessed their own guilt and that of their neighbours'; and on their evidence a 'vast number' of Thugs and Dacoits were seized. 'Many of these people were executed.' The approvers were not put to death. 'This shows' says Sir James, 'that a wise and brave man (Lord Hastings) will break through other *idle obstacles* (!) so also the most cherished and dearest principles of his country to get at that without which neither country nor social life are worth having. I mean peace and *justice*' (!) It was well that he had courage to punish the criminal before his actual conviction, but (he concludes) '*it would have been far better if the necessity for such measures had never existed at all.*' "Just so," remarked an able commentator writing in this Review: "It would have been far better. We see no reason to boast of the system thus lauded; for the very utmost that can be said in its favor is, that it was a most lamentable necessity. But we do not think it was a necessity at all. The husbandman slept and his enemy took the opportunity to sow weeds in his crops, and then the awakened farmer sent ignorant, rough-handed laborers, not in a position to distinguish between wheat and tares, to root out the latter at whatever damage to the former. Had steps been taken to make the regular police an efficient and active body, and the dacoits been proceeded against under the proper and righteous safeguards to justice which are so essential to all social prosperity, we believe that the same benefits would have been obtained without the gross injuries which must have been inflicted by that abnormal, arbitrary, we had almost said violent, system which condemned men on the evidence of known and infamous miscreants whose safety depended on

the destruction of others; and upon what were curiously called 'full and voluntary confessions' made by wretches after a long and painful, and apparently hopeless detention, unjustified by any evidence against them. Government having failed in the duty of raising a good and regular police supplied the deficiency by the, to say the least, dangerous expedient of those dacoity commissions which an effective regular police has at length abolished."

The use of evidence of accomplices is of course not necessarily bound up with a special detective organization. It has been resorted to in all countries and in all ages, with one remarkable exception. Under the Roman law it was a rule, according to some jurists "worthy perhaps of imitation," that the evidence of an approver should be entirely rejected. No man's freedom or reputation could be endangered by the malice of one who confessed himself a criminal. The rule has not, however, been imitated in England, and its breach gave rise in the middle ages to grave abuses and serious miscarriage of justice. Prisoners tortured by gaolers were forced to become approvers, yet without much danger to the criminal, for jurors, suspecting the manner in which the confessions had been obtained, were reluctant to convict. The wretched approver seldom reaped any benefit from his enforced treachery, for if not done to death in gaol, he was almost certainly slain on release by the friends of the persons he had denounced. The confessions were often false, and were frequently retracted when the accused, asserting his innocence, demanded the wager of battle.*

The detestation in which approvers were held by the people in early times exceeded, if possible, that now accorded to them. Yet, infamous, and untrustworthy as it was, evidence of this kind was commonly and unrestrictedly used, till the arch-approver, Titus Oates, having established a reign of terror, the scandal reached its height. The necessity of estimating at its true value the evidence of approvers was forced upon the authorities, and henceforth testimony of this sort was received only with due caution and under proper restrictions.

Vile as it is, under proper safeguards, good service has often been rendered to the cause of justice by this means. The atrocities of Burke were satisfactorily brought home to him by the evidence of his accomplice Hare, and the murder of Mr. Weare was established against Thurtell by the confessions of Hunt and Probart. More recently, the murderers of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke were hanged on the testimony of their confederate Carey. Some of the early features of the approver system seem to have distinguished this last case—

* Pike's History of Crime in England.

denunciation from within the walls of a gaol, sympathy of the local public with the criminals, and ultimate assassination of the betrayer. Hare, too, narrowly escaped with his life, having been recognized by some workmen and thrown into a lime-pit, thereby losing his sight. Still, as a rule, there can be no doubt Mr. Laing Meason* is right that "to do the work of detection by means of approvers is not only a great mistake, but one for which, in the long run, the cause of justice and order has to pay dearly."

To pursue the history of detective organizations in Bengal :—The Police Commission of 1860 aware, no doubt, of the difficulties in the way of efficiently controlling such a machinery in India, where the by-paths of detection are proverbially dirty, recorded it as their unanimous conclusion, that no detective branch of the service should be formed, and that every part of the police should be held responsible for every duty, preventive and detective, properly belonging to it. In the face of this resolution Mr Carnac, the first Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, in 1863, the year in which the Thuggee and Dacoity Department was abolished as a special agency in British Territory and its operations restricted to Native States, succeeded in establishing a detective branch of the new constabulary in Bengal. A special Inspector and ten constables were attached to each of seven districts, where organized crime was most prevalent, acting under a Superintendent attached to the office of the Inspector-General at head-quarters. The officer selected to fill this important post was a gentleman who had rendered good service in the abolished dacoity department, and was thoroughly acquainted with the language and character of the people of Bengal.

After a trial of nine months, Mr. Carnac wrote :—"I am compelled to state that I do not consider having a separate head an advisable plan. A special detective police in this country would be a most powerful engine of oppression, if misemployed, and would therefore require constant supervision and almost daily watching. . . . "Magistrates are disposed to look with suspicion upon circumstances obtained out of the regular course. The delicate chain of circumstances which we are accustomed to associate with detective police at home is almost useless in Mofussil Courts. Magistrates will not convict except on strong recognition coupled with discovery of property." Mr. Carnac went on to point out that all that had been accomplished by the special agency might have been just as well effected by the regular force.

Mr. Carnac proved a true prophet, especially in regard to the

* "Detective Police," by Laing Meason—*Nineteenth Century*, May 1883.

treatment of the department by the judiciary. His successor, however, an officer of little police experience, became a warm advocate of the detective system. His views on this subject were identical with those of the able head of the special branch, and were thus expressed: "The detective department should be extended. It is true that it may be an instrument which cuts both ways and requires careful watching, but in this country it is absolutely necessary to cope successfully with certain classes of crime. . . . It is but applying to the Police the well-known principle of division of employment." Accordingly, the department was extended and placed upon a somewhat different footing. In those days, Deputy Inspector-Generals were in charge of separate circles, as is still the case in the Panjab, and a detective inspector, elevated to the rank of Assistant District Superintendent, with a staff of Head Constables and Constables, was placed at the disposal of each of these officers. The Deputy Inspector-Generals took the place towards these bodies which the Superintendent had hitherto occupied. The Detective Superintendent was retained at the head office to receive and collect reports, and offer such suggestions as his very great experience and knowledge in this branch enabled him to make. If a particular class of crime should make great head, he was to be deputed to work it in person and, for the time being, to supersede the local officers. The salaries of the Assistants were to be increased yearly up to a certain amount, such increase to depend upon the proofs they afforded of continual energy and ability.

Even at this early period the career of the new branch had not been altogether unchequered or unchecked, and the Inspector-General had already to take up cudgels in its defence. "Much has been said," he wrote, "against the practice of keeping men for detective purposes only; but I am convinced that for certain classes of crime special men should be charged with the business of detection. These men should have nothing else to do; if they have other things to do, it may often happen, that the motive for doing the other thing may be stronger than the motive for pursuing the detection of criminals; if they have nothing else to do, and it is found that the means of detection are not vigorously applied, the Assistant would be blamed." There was no lack of vigour in the detective department organized under these auspices. Their most important operations were directed against professional prisoners. The plan adopted was invariably this: a prisoner undergoing sentence for this offence was interviewed, and, in the hope of pardon, confessed and implicated accomplices, who in their turn confessed and betrayed others. The system resembled that of the defunct Thuggee Department, with this important difference, that whilst under the old system persons

arrested were prevailed upon to become approvers, by a guarantee that the sentences afterwards passed on them, of death or transportation for life, would be held in abeyance during good behaviour, nothing short of a free pardon could be given to an approver making a clean breast of it under the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure. This awkward restriction, and the absence of any magisterial power, were thorns in the side of the detective authorities. It was argued—I quote Colonel Hervey, Superintendent of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department—"that professional criminals always revert to crime directly they have renewed opportunities for doing so, and released approvers have never formed any exception to this general rule." With due deference to Colonel Hervey, I am bound to say that I can cite, not one, but many instances of criminals, some of them these very prisoner-approvers of whom I am writing, who have for many years past, altogether abandoned their former diabolic profession, and betaken themselves to honest industry. Either, then, this is not at all a hard-and-fast rule, or the approvers I refer to were not the habitual criminals they professed to be. The readiness with which numbers of them unburthened their breasts to the Bengal detectives is perfectly astounding, and in every case sent to trial, the confessions were fully corroborated. Sometimes crimes were divulged which had never been reported, and the witnesses to which could not be traced. At other times the self-accusing criminals were identified by victims who, with rare good fortune, had survived the deadly dose. A large number of convictions were obtained and several persons capitally punished. Some of these latter were men who had confessed, yet their fate did not cure the mania for making a clean breast of it which seemed to seize upon these unhappy wretches so soon as they fell into the hands of the police. The evidence was certainly wrought up in a masterly manner; but there was nothing in the way of detective skill to astonish, except the unvarying certainty with which the clue-giving confession was obtained.

As foretold by M^r. Carnac, the proceedings of the department were looked on with grave suspicion by many of the magisterial and judicial authorities, and before the revised system had emerged from infancy, two of the Extra Assistants, as they were called, had been reported to Government and recommended for dismissal, as guilty of unpardonable offences, whilst a third had been convicted and imprisoned on a charge of fabricating false evidence. They had the benefit of warm supporters and able advocates, and escaped punishment, the last-mentioned being acquitted by the High Court.

It cannot, however, be denied, that it was a serious scandal

that three out of four selected officers, on what Colonel Ewart calls prize wages, and under what was considered efficient supervision, should, in so short a time, have become obnoxious to the gravest strictures of local officers, judicial and departmental, who had the immense advantage of observing their conduct on the spot. The censure, coming as it did from various quarters, could not justly be attributed, either to departmental jealousy or local prejudices, or to judicial partiality or imbecility ; and even had this been different, these scandals would still remain an objection to a department constituted as this was.

The detective branch, under the ægis of the Inspector-General, continued to struggle on, battling with the prejudices of Magistrates, till, in 1870, reduction becoming imperative, it was singled out for extinction, whilst its laurels, won in the Wahabi prosecutions, were yet green. Their champion, the Inspector-General, was at this time absent, and upon his return recorded a Jeremiad over the early death of his bantling, but no serious attempt has been made to resuscitate it. Beyond a small body of selected officers, attached to the central office, whose services are occasionally placed at the disposal of local officers, for particular purposes, there is at present no special detective agency in Bengal. Yet, whenever unusually intricate or ramified crime has presented itself, there has never been any difficulty in finding officers to cope with it. And not to go beyond the four corners of Colonel Ewart's report, there is much to create a belief that in this respects Bengal is no exception.

When I held the post of personal assistant to the Inspector General of Police, I was brought into frequent communication with the officers of the detective branch, and what struck me forcibly, as being an unhealthy sign, was their extreme jealousy of each other, amounting to absolute hatred. To such an extent was this carried, that in private conversation they did not scruple to hint, that the successes of their rivals were affected by means of the foulest crimes. Whether true or not, these insinuations were not calculated to inspire one with a feeling of confidence in the force. There was, too, a hankering after increased power, and a disposition to resent any interference on the part of local officers, who, scattered as the detectives were, alone could effectively supervise them.

There was at this period another detective force in Lower Bengal, whose existence was likewise doomed to be ephemeral ; and the working of this '*corps d'élite*,' I had a still better opportunity of observing. I speak of the detective branch of the Calcutta Police force which was created in, I think, 1864, when the Calcutta Police was re-organized. Its constitution was very similar to that of the detective branch of the constabulary. There was a well paid superintendent with jurisdiction over

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the whole urban and suburban circles. Two inspectors had charge, each of a division of the above, with a subordinate staff of native officers at each section house, where also there resided an inspector of the regular force. The superintendents and inspectors of both forces were mostly Europeans or Eurasians. The whole was subordinate to the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of police. In point of supervision it would have been difficult to secure anything more perfect. The force was compact, within a small area, and watched by a numerous staff of officers on salaries graduated from Rs. 200 a month, in the case of the detective inspectors, to Rs. 3,500 a month in the case of the Commissioner. Besides which there were always upon it the jealous eyes of the omnipresent regular force, and the gaze of a comparatively enlightened public. Yet with all these advantages and precautions, instances of grave abuse of power occurred but too frequently. I will mention a few which have imbedded themselves in my memory. It was an invariable rule that prisoners in the custody of the police should be brought daily before the Commissioner or his Deputy, either for remand or to be committed to trial. On one occasion, a prisoner, after his release, turned about and displayed to me a back of an unusually reddish tint, saying he had been beaten with slippers during the night. "Its all false your Worship," said the officer who brought him before me, "that's the natural color of his skin." I told the man to come to me again a week later, and he did so with a skin of a normal hue. Another day a man was brought up with a broken arm, and the superintendant explained that a native corporal had *accidentally* hit him in the cells with a bar of iron which happened to be there. I need hardly say that the prisoner's version of the story was very different. On a third occasion I was asked to remand a man for 24 hours, as he was likely to point out some stolen property. I did so, and on the following day after I had released him, he went straight to a magistrate of the suburbs and complained that he had been tortured by being *walked about* all night by native officers, who held him by means of a cloth twisted round his arm. There was a deep scar which the police alleged he had himself secretly produced by means of some corrosive substance. The native officers were committed to the sessions, but acquitted. Mr. Wauchope, then Judge of the 24-Pergunnahs, tried the case, and told me afterwards that *walking about* had always been a favourite method of extracting information with the Calcutta Police. But why did not the victim, for such he undoubtedly was, show me his arm? He said because he thought I had an interest in torturing him! The case is mentioned by Dr. N. Chevers in his manual of jurisprudence.

Mr. Wauchope was no believer in the dodges which form the stock-in-trade of some classes of detectives, and which he styled *finesse*. His was a rough and ready system,—which could not fail to secure the object he had in view. One of his methods was this :—On the last day of the moon he directed the inspectors of all the sections to bring before him the known or suspected burglars of their respective circles. He would then ask the inspector of B. section whether he knew the antecedents of the burglars of A. section, and if, as was usual, he replied that he did not, they were transferred to his custody for 24 hours for enquiry, and on the following morning were similarly passed on to section C. The burglars of section B were in like manner transferred to section C, and so on through all the sections. There were, I think, just 14 sections in the town, so, before the burglars of section A. were released, 14 days had elapsed, and the moon, the enemy of nocturnal thieves, had again begun to shed her protective rays over the sleeping city. This plan was a refinement upon the tactics of the old *darogah*, who made a common practice of keeping the *budmashes* of his circle at thannahs during the *Krishu Pakh* or dark half of the moon. Another drastic measure of Mr. Wauchope was the despatch by *râhdâri* to Peshawur, of all ruffianly looking *vilayatis*, or strangers, from over the Affghan frontier. This expedient, involving as it did police custody for several months, did not meet with the approval of the authorities in the Upper Provinces, and was put a stop to by Government.*

But let us return to our muttons—I had almost said wolves. When Mr. Wauchope was summoned to the Commissioner's chair, to restore confidence after the assassination of Lord Mayo, one of his first steps was to abolish the detective branch of the force, and to retain at the central office, for especial purposes, a very small number of the most skilful investigators. How this plan answered I know not, as shortly afterwards I was removed from the Deputy Commissionership. The officer placed at the head of this small force had previously figured in a remarkable case, which it may not be uninteresting to take a glance at. A lady staying at Belvedere missed three valuable diamond rings, and her ayah was suspected of having stolen them. After the regular police had failed, the services of the above officer, who had the reputation of being about the best detective in Calcutta, were expressly asked for. He deputed

* The union of Magisterial and police powers in the same functionary inevitably leads to more or less arbitrary use of these powers. In Calcutta the exercise of Magisterial powers by the head of the police is, I believe, now much restricted.

to Belvedere, to play the part of khitmutgar, and worm out the ayah's secret, a native subordinate *who had proved useful on former similar occasions*. The ruse proved only too successful, the pseudo-kit producing after a few days a diamond which he said the ayah, in the plenitude of newly-begotten love, had confided to him to sell. The diamond was closely examined and believed to have been extracted from one of the stolen rings. The detective was then instructed to represent to the ayah that he had sold the diamond to advantage, and to endeavour to persuade her to entrust the others to him for sale. He returned saying, he could get nothing more from the woman as she suspected him. She was questioned, and denied having had any dealings with the man. She was nevertheless convicted and imprisoned for one year. She appealed but the conviction was upheld. About three months afterwards the missing rings were found uninjured inside an ink-bottle on the lady's table, where it is believed they were dropped by a child. The ayah was of course pardoned, and curiously enough the whole detective skill of the Calcutta police was unequal to the task of discovering whence came the diamond produced by the detective! The subordinate had to bear the whole brunt of the affair. The European officer was, however, subsequently, I believe, dismissed, in connection with some irregular, if not fraudulent, transactions. When last I heard of him he was advertising his services as a private detective.

The story of the diamond rings reminds me of an anecdote related by Lady Bloomfield, of General Blenkendorff, who, when minister of police, missed a pocket-book full of rouble notes, and made the police understand that he expected to find it promptly. A few days afterwards the sum was returned to him, without the pocket-book, which was reported lost. But in the meanwhile the minister himself had found it, notes and all, in his fur pelisse. Lady Bloomfield charitably supposed that the police collected from their own pockets the sum of money, which had never been stolen!

I now come to the question whether or not a detective agency is wanted in Bengal. If such an agency could be applied without risk of the abuses and scandals which have been shown often to have occurred in special forces of this kind, there can be little doubt that the public would be gainers. But if such evils are inseparable from such an organization, it is equally certain, I think, that we are better without it. Colonel Ewart promises novel revelations in regard to the manner in which the regular police now harass the people to conceal their incapacity, but where is the guarantee that his detectives will not act as detectives have acted before, in spite of high pay and close supervision?

It has been argued that men who have nothing to distract their attention are more likely, *per se*, to detect crime than others who have miscellaneous duties to perform. This sounds reasonable and true, but we must bear in mind that the *raison d'être* of the detective is the existence of crime requiring detection, and if crime of this sort is scarce, there is a temptation to create it. In the words of Sir W. Scott, "those who make a trade of discovery are likely to aid their researches by invention." The case of the regular police is different. When their detective business is completed their avocation is not gone; and they are best employed when preventing, rather than when detecting, crime. The disappearance of difficult crime is not always a good reason for reducing the members of the regular police, but it would be, I opine, in the case of detectives. It may be doubted whether officers specially selected for their intelligence and probity would stoop to actions involving so much depravity. The history of crime, however, affords ample proof that they will do so. It is only recently that the London detectives were found to be keeping themselves in practice by tempting people to sin, and now the head of the Dublin detectives has been found guilty of procuring false charges of a scandalous nature against innocent persons. I remember too a case in which the Bengal detectives, by way of keeping themselves before the public, supplied metal to some persons wherewith to coin gold mohurs. They then pounced upon them in the act, and sent them for trial, getting for their pains a severe reprimand from the High Court, coupled with a threat to treat them as abettors if they repeated the trick. The detectives professed to think themselves very ill-used; and granting that the accused were really professional coiners, the offence was certainly a comparatively venial one.

I proceed to consider by what means the detective is expected to achieve a greater measure of success than an ordinary policeman. In the first place, he is to be an altogether more gifted personage, and like a poet *nascitur non fit*. He must be possessed of "intelligence, craft, quick sight, quick ear, active mind, and ready faculty for adopting all circumstances *to suit his own use and purposes*." These are, according to Colonel Ewart, the distinctive attributes of the true detective, and are, he truly says, to be found among the criminal classes, "who from the nature of the lives they lead, and the circumstances under which they were born and reared" are accustomed to bold or subtle undertakings, ever watchful for information which may bring plunder to their hands, or enable them to elude detection and pursuit. The Thugs especially are instanced as men who, under other conditions and otherwise directed, might have been converted into astute detectives. If this is the sort of material

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from which a detective force is to be formed, all I can say is, I pity the people, I do not believe that craft and dissimulation can co-exist with honesty and loyalty in the same breast. I believe that every man who can justify treachery as a means whereby to benefit the public, can similarly justify treachery as a means to forward his own individual interests. The case of Clive and Omichand may be cited against this theory, but this was an isolated instance in a long and honorable career, and the exception, if it was one, proves the rule. Writing, I think, of Lord Bacon, Macaulay attributed nine-tenths of the calamities which have befallen the human race, to the union of high intelligence with low desires. Fouché, the father, so to speak, of the system advocated by Col. Ewart, is a remarkable instance of the truth of this remark. He was undoubtedly the craftiest of men, and carried his address to such a degree, as to make it believed that wherever four persons were assembled together one was in his pay. Yet was he of such a depraved nature, that on one occasion when out of power, he was actually committed to prison for robbery and other crimes. He was several times detected by Bonaparte—another striking example of the truth of Macaulay's reflection—in secret communication with Metternich and the British Government, and narrowly saved his head. He favoured the plot of George Cadoudal and Pichegru and then caused their arrest. But this was, I suppose, according to detective principles, justifiable. ●

Col. Ewart has, however, other strings to his bow. "I must not," he adds "be understood to mean that the part of the population which produces the Indian criminal is the only source from which detectives may be drawn; for I know, and wish to assert that, in every grade and profession of native society in this country, men are to be found who possess the special faculties described,"—men who, I suppose, it may be fair to assume, would, under other conditions and otherwise directed, have made excellent Thugs!

My own view of the qualities most useful in the detection of crime may be summed up in the words, intelligence, observation, perseverance, probity. A combination of these four qualities are rare enough, but is nevertheless to be found under favorable circumstances, even in the force as now constituted. The favorable circumstances most essential are, I think, fair emoluments, efficient supervision, and an absence of extraordinary incentive, or pressure, to achieve success. Col. Ewart's scheme, whilst fully providing the two first, is favorable to a different policy in regard to the third condition. He thinks that high pay and fair supervision will secure honesty in a class specially liable to stray into devious courses,

though at the same time he makes his prizes dependent upon success. If there were any certainty that the success were real, this would, of course, be an unexceptionable arrangement, but all experience tells us that there can be nothing approaching to such certainty—that the natural proclivities of detectives, such as described by Col Ewart, combined with temptations and opportunities, are almost sure, sooner or later, to lead them out of the straight path. Col. Ewart appears to have been specially struck with the amount of latent detective skill to be found in the lowly rank of constable. Now, if there is one thing I abominate more than another, it is the *Surāghia* or detective constable. He it was who was principally responsible for the villanics at Gaya. He figured as the go-between of the police and the criminals, the immediate instigator of crime, the instrument by which evidence was fabricated and confessions wrung out ; and, as occasion required, himself the actual perpetrator of crime. The smartest detective officers could do nothing without him : he was put forward as having, by his natural instinct and inborn skill, devised a clue, and then by some subtle artifice entrapped the criminal with the evidence of his guilt upon him. A great deal was said of how these constables, insinuating themselves in disguise (*ba tabdil libās*) into the too confiding graces of the dusky Dosādihins, wormed out their husbands' secrets ; but the event proved that all this was fine dust specially prepared for the eyes of conviction-loving district superintendents and credulous judicial officers. And what proof can Col. Ewart give that his pet *Surāghias*, Hari Singh and the rest, are any better than those who for years deceived batch after batch of officers at Gaya, by no means distinguished for their imbecility ? Indeed, to judge from the case of Asa Ram, there is little to choose between them, except that Asa Ram had a stronger motive to remain honest than they. This man was, so says Col. Ewart, an unusually astute detective, worth at least Rs. 80 a month. Though uneducated, he was, out of the usual course, rewarded by promotion to the rank of head constable, yet this proved inadequate to protect him from the temptation of a pocket full of gold mohurs, which were held glittering before his eyes, in the chance case of the burglar Kullu ! The case is, as Col. Ewart says, instructive, but the moral he draws from it is diametrically opposite to that which I deduce.

Walpole said that he only knew one woman who refused gold, and she took diamonds ! I will put his idea in a more gallant, if less epigrammatic, form, and assert, that "every man has his price" is a safe maxim when dealing with police. High pay will take the keen edge off temptation but will do no more. For who shall put a limit to man's greed for gain ? If Asa

Ram's wages had been more liberal, his price, perhaps, might have been higher, but if criminals can frequently command such sums as those disbursed to defeat justice by Colonel Ewart's friend, Amir Khan, burglar and murderer, it is doubtful whether the Government purse is deep enough to place their policemen beyond the influence of temptation.

A word now as to what Mr. Wauchope called *finesse*, and I will call, the puerilities of detection. It is believed by many that disguise is a valuable detective agency. Colonel Ewart appears to hold this view, so also does Mr. Laing Meason, before quoted, who relates how some bonds stolen from an English merchant by his son were wonderfully recovered by *un agent secret*, of the Paris police, who posed before him in four different characters without being recognized. The case seems to me to have been remarkably simple, yet Mr. Meason is astonished at its being brought to a successful issue. He does not tell us how the masquerading contributed to detection, though he scoffs at the transparent disguises of the London plain-clothes-officers, which he says are, according to the chaff of the criminals themselves, merely worn to spare their feelings the scandal of arrest by an ordinary blue-bottle. It is disappointing not to be told how this means may be turned to account. For, in the first place, it is, to my mind, a very difficult thing to effectually disguise oneself. Men are not readily found endowed with the natural facilities possessed by such adepts as Jonathan Wild and Vidocq. The former of these worthies is reported to have been able to dislocate his hip joint, and the latter to make himself several inches shorter or taller, at will. Even the disguises of practiced costumiers at theatres may often be seen through. I have read that one Shoobratee, who was hanged at Benares for murder in 1853, returned to his village at the time when the search was hottest for him, with no other disguise but a thick beard, yet was not for some time recognized even by his own relatives. But I am inclined with King James' philosopher to doubt the fact, and to remark that there are none so blind as those who won't see.

But assuming the disguise to be impenetrable, what is the next step? Is it thought that the detective will, in an assumed character, be admitted into the community and secrets of men whose profession is crime? I do not for an instant believe it. Criminals may be, and are, like other men, in the words of Carlyle, "mostly fools," but they are more frequently the perpetrators than the victims of "the confidence trick." Vidocq is said to have cleverly joined in a plot to give himself a thrashing. It is beyond doubt that the sum of his villainies greatly outweighed the doubtful

services he rendered to justice. Criminals require an introduction of a sort which I believe is not compatible with the position, and duties of a police officer. In proportion to confidence gained, there must be real loss of honesty and allegiance, not merely simulation of it. One cannot run with the hare, and hunt with the hounds, nor touch pitch without defilement. A police officer may, of course, contrive, with advantage, to conceal the fact that he is such, but this is quite another thing. Even this is not quite so easy as it seems, for Colonel Ewart himself seems to have penetrated the secret of two plain-clothes detectives he accidentally met at the Jullunder Station.

Mr. Howard Vincent attempted to ameliorate the evils unfortunately inseparable from the supervision of released convicts, by deputing for this duty trustworthy detectives dressed as bricklayers, carpenters, &c., but if Mr. Michael Davitt,* and others are to be believed, the system, humane in its conception, was a farce in practice.

Disguise and other *ruses* are as little likely to be successful in real police work as, for instance, the childish devices described in the chapter "concerning the art of detecting thieves," in the *Qimou-i-islām*, or the ancient deceit of distributing sticks of equal length to suspected persons, telling them that the stick of him who is guilty will assuredly grow longer, and thereby inducing the culprit to shorten his stick and afford proof of guilt. Such trifling is, in short, to real detective business, what flying cigarettes are to Koot Humi—the spurious manifestations of Mahatmas to genuine Theosophy.

In order that I may not be misunderstood, and be thought to hold the extravagant opinion that strategy should never be resorted to by police officers, I will instance a case in which a stratagem was safely and successfully practiced. A native, belonging to a respectable family, absconded with a large sum of money, leaving no trace of his whereabouts. A sharp constable engaged himself as a servant to the family, and after some time contrived to find out that letters and remittances were occasionally sent to a distant place somewhere on the North Western frontier of India. He lost no time in going there, and arrested the fugitive in his hiding place. Here there was no masquerading, the relatives were not themselves criminals, and the production of the run-a-way was a perfect guarantee of good faith.

I have already mentioned the case of Franz Müller as an instance of real detective skill. Another specimen may

* "Penal Servitude," by Michael Davitt.—*Contemporary Review*, August 1883.

be found in the tracing of the murderer of Mr. Commissioner Fraser, by John Lawrence, sometime Governor-General of India. In these, as in many other cases, each step can be satisfactorily explained, and one is not brought face to face with a glaring improbability, such as a confession without adequate motive, or a finding of stolen property, or other evidence of guilt, by almost miraculous means, or under circumstances reflecting seriously on the common sense or sanity of the accused. The probability that the evidence is true is far greater than the probability that it has been fabricated. We cannot always have our crime investigated by embryonic Governors-General, but we can get, and indeed have already got, men who are capable of following up a clue with a sufficient amount of perseverance and honesty. The honesty of some of them is so far proof against temptation, that rather than resort to trickery, they are content to be reckoned "duffers," or at least as devoid of detective skill.

The source of corruption of the kind I have been considering is, doubtless, sometimes the unreasonable demands of the public—or in India whatever does duty for it—for success, whether the circumstances of the case warrant it or not. The public press upon the authorities, and the authorities upon the police, as if the detection of crime were an exact science. The pressure is passed from rank to rank, gaining increased force, as a falling body gains velocity, until at last it falls upon the devoted head of the village chowkidar. This is an evil difficult to avoid. The public cannot know the merits of each case.

The work of individual officers should not be judged by figures alone; than which, proverbially, nothing is more fallible. One of the Gaya Sub-Inspectors in his confession, said—I quote from memory—"formerly we used only to *lagan* in dacoity and other heinous cases, but after the introduction of the six-column statement, we took to *laganning* in burglaries also." The statement referred to was a form devised to show the results achieved by each officer, and upon which his promotion depended to a great extent.

There must, however, be some criterion of police work, and so long as judgment based solely on figures is confined to large areas little harm can arise. It is when undue pressure is brought to bear in small areas that mischief is done. The best and fairest way of criticizing detective work is, I think, a close examination of the undetected cases with a view to see that no stone has been left unturned. The Inspector, in his sub-district, can so overhaul every such case. The District Superintendent, in his district, can look into the undetected cases of his worst stations, and the Deputy Inspector General, and

Inspector-General can satisfy themselves that this has been efficiently done. In theory the District Superintendent at present scrutinizes closely the action of the police in *every* case ; but in practice this is in large districts impossible. No censure should ever be passed unless specific negligence or malfeasance could be pointed to. Officers treated in this manner work more freely and honestly, and the results attained are in reality better than when pressure is applied at haphazard. Officers not being blamed for a state of things they cannot prevent, are not so much tempted to betake themselves to irregular courses ; and being more at liberty to cultivate habits of self-respect, become more respected by others. The presence of the police loses most, if not all, its terrors ; respectable persons volunteer aid which would otherwise have been withheld ; and last, but not least, a better class of men are induced to enter upon the arduous and distasteful career of a police officer.

Colonel Ewart's remedy for the defects he points to is the reorganization of the police of India on the following lines :— The Railway and other police forces of the several provinces to be subordinated to one head or minister of police, attached to the Government of India ; the district and railway forces of each province to be controlled by a District Superintendent, an Assistant Inspector-General, under a provincial Inspector-General of Police, as at present ; a highly paid *corps de élite* for detective purposes, both on and off the line, to be formed on the railway, with unbroken jurisdiction throughout India and controlled by a Director General of Criminal Investigations, with a Deputy Director General for each railway system. In short, a double system, each officer of the regular force having a counterpart for detective purposes. The Director General to be on a footing with the Inspectors General of each province ; the Deputy Director General with the Deputy Inspectors General ; the Assistant Inspector General with the District Superintendent. The investigation of crime to remain, ordinarily, with the District Superintendent, who is to have a small squad of chosen detectives from his district police at the head-quarters of each district. Organized crime to be taken up in provinces by the Assistant Inspector General, who is to be empowered to draw men from district squads to assist if necessary. The railway detectives are to be the flower of the forces—invisible, ubiquitous and omniscient. They are to watch and pursue criminals, collect and furnish information, but like the *agents secret* of the French police, never to discover themselves. They must be able to deal with agitation, religious, political, and foreign ; to have a thorough knowledge of railway technicalities, and to be able to work everywhere, though usually posted at strategic points. Talent is to be

availed of wherever found, irrespective of age and other obstacles. The scheme is an ambitious one, and would no doubt furnish the imperial Government with a powerful engine. The additional cost is estimated at six lakhs a year. If this sum cannot be otherwise provided, it is suggested, that the deficiency shall be made up by contributions from the railways and post-offices; by the utilization of the services of military pensioners; by the substitution of cheap chowkidars and the establishment of telephones in towns. As a sop to the railways, Colonel Ewart credits them with a large sum now paid as compensation for goods lost or stolen in transit. This visionary asset may be thought, by minds of less sanguine bent than Colonel Ewart's, to partake rather of the nature of the chick still within the shell. Setting aside the consideration whether, even from a police point of view, the six lakhs might not be better applied, there seem to be grave objections to the scheme. In the first place, the authority of local Governments in police matters would be very much weakened by the divided subordination of the provincial Inspectors General and Deputy Directors General. These officers, though directly responsible to local governments, would, it seems, be also responsible through a different channel—the Directors General and Minister of Police—to the Government of India. Similarly, the Assistant Inspectors General would owe a double allegiance—to the Inspectors General on one hand, to the Director General on the other. Then there would be endless friction between the Assistant Inspectors General, and District Superintendents if, as proposed, the former is to help himself to the latter's choice detectives, and the latter is to inspect and criticize the law and order police of the former. Colonel Ewart makes the injudicious suggestion that the railway detectives be used as a check on the district detectives and *vice versa*. This would, of course, as pointed out by a friendly critic, lead to nought but evil. Yet Colonel Ewart claims for his scheme, that it is perhaps the *only* solution of the difficult problem of securing harmony and co-operation among the various bodies of police in this country. If, after providing prize pay and other incentives, this is the best security we are to have for good behaviour, we shall be in sad plight indeed! In regard to the proposition that the police department should be at liberty to avail itself of volunteers from other departments of "inborn detective instincts, developed unconsciously to themselves but impelling them instinctively to interest themselves with police business," I fancy that the other departments will hardly be enamoured of it. The qualities necessary to success as a detective are valued everywhere, and no one likes to part with his best servants. In reference to outside amateurs and gentlemen detectives, I believe the plan was tried by

Mr. Vincent and found not to answer. The utmost care must of course be taken to secure the best available material, but it would be unsafe and unnecessary to waive the usual conditions as to age, health, &c., in enlisting even for detective purposes only. Such recruits, if failing as detectives, would be useless for other purposes, and being liable to be discharged for failure, would have an additional temptation to make hay whilst the sun shone.

Another of Colonel Ewart's remedial measures is the summoning of a conference of police officers, immediately, to investigate the influx of Affghan professional criminals, and consider the best means of checking this rapidly increasing nuisance. Also to compare and confer on police experiences, gained in all parts of India, with a view to the improvement of the department in all its branches. Whilst there have been commissions, conferences, and deputations from time to time for purposes of self-improvement in various other departments of government, such as Public Works, Jails, Education, Post Office, Forest, Opium, &c., there has been nothing of the sort in connection with the police since 1860. Simultaneously he would despatch a deputation of selected officers, to Europe to ascertain, *inter alia*, the measures in force for the avoidance of jealousy, friction, and obstruction, and for the maintenance of fusion and harmony among all branches of police, with a staff of short-handwriters in order that no precious moments may be lost in communicating to the sitting conference the results of their Western researches. The qualifications of these selected officers are to be of such a high order as to make it doubtful whether they would not prove rather teachers than learners. "It is indispensable," Colonel Ewart says, "that they should be men of long police experience, natural administrative capacity, deeply interested in their profession; with wide views; observant, both naturally and by training; of versatile imagination (!), quick to seize ideas, and successfully adapt them to the purposes of radical improvement; and moreover, possessed of sound common sense, great personal energy, tact, temper, and natural courtesy of manners and disposition." Surely the number of Indian police officers answering to this description, could be counted on the thumbs of one hand. If there are really several such, why has Bengal been denied the services of one of these admirable Crichtons?

There are other reasons which render it uncertain whether India would gain much by such an arrangement. The conditions of society in Europe and India are totally different. Moreover the police of England in its detective capacity is thought to be so unsatisfactory, that great changes are being made. Whilst one portion of the public is jealously watching

the action of the Home Office, with a view to prevent the introduction of any of the continental systems, another is loudly demanding a trial of the French plan. Mr. Meason, whom I have more than once quoted, writes: "It is a curious fact that, as regards a detective force, we are very little, if at all, better off than our grandfathers were half a century ago, when they had to rely upon Townsend, the famous Bow Street Runner, as the one man in England who could hunt out thieves or murderers, and bring them to justice!" And again, "the one only efficacious manner of detecting crime is such as is adopted in France, but which not a few Englishmen object to as mean and underhand." We have seen what this system is, and how very ineffectual it can be; yet referring to the Hatton Garden robbery and the attempt to blow up Government Offices in Westminster, Mr. Meason assures us "that the perpetrators of these crimes would, under the French, German, Russian, or Italian systems, in all probability, have been in the hands of the Police 24 hours after either crime was committed." But if Mr. Howard Vincent is to be believed, "the proportion of serious offences, and more especially of violence against the person, is so much smaller in London, than in any other of the chief cities of Europe, as to admit of no comparison." Mr. Howard Vincent greatly regrets that the figures of foreign cities, having been furnished to him in confidence, he cannot make them public. So it seems that it is not part of the continental system to permit public criticism of their criminal statistics, whereby the success or otherwise of that system might be fairly judged. Nor is their action in this matter calculated to inspire a hope that the authorities abroad would assist strangers in prying into their police arrangements, the main feature of which is their secrecy. The *Times* writes:—"It is too often assumed that our own force would suffer by comparison with that of any of the great continental cities. We do not think such a comparison would be a just one. The American Police are, probably, the only body who could fairly be compared with them, and even these are armed with larger powers, and are far better supported by the magistrates. It is impossible that our police should adopt the methods of procedure permitted on the Continent, in France, in Austria in Russia, and in Germany. The personal liberty of the subject is, happily, protected by far too jealous safeguards. The law will not suffer large numbers of our fellow-citizens to be apprehended on mere suspicion, kept in prison at pleasure, subjected to a series of compulsory examinations, and dismissed, it may be at last, with no recompense, and with no apology. A system so high-handed, and so vexatious, could not be long tolerated by Englishmen; and yet, if all this cannot be done, the action

of the police, as a detective force, is necessarily crippled."

In this connection, it is perhaps worth mentioning, that on several memorable occasions, within recent years, when things have arrived at a crisis, or police revolution been effected at home, the services of men trained in India have been put in requisition. Mr. Jenkinson and Inspector Smith, of Dublin renown, had both gained their experience in India. And now, Mr. Monro, our late Inspector-General has been associated with Mr. Jenkinson as successor to Mr. Vincent, at Scotland Yard. Mr. Howard, one of our most prominent district superintendents was long ago translated from Bengal to London. If an Indian training produces men fit to conduct the police business of the first city in the world, we cannot, I think, be so far behind the English police, as it is the fashion to make out. We have a vastly larger area, and much greater difficulties to contend with. It would be astonishing, then, if our necessities did not produce skilful policemen, if not quite the paragons described by Colonel Ewart. It seems doubtful, then, whether the results attending such an expensive arrangement as the deputation of several officers to Europe would be commensurate with the cost.

I have already expressed my dissent from the principle sought to be established by Colonel Ewart, that railways, telegraphs and post offices, having given increased facilities for the successful perpetration of crime, are bound to contribute, proportionately, towards the support of a police force. The advantages they confer in the way of promotion of law and order vastly outweigh, in my estimation, any harm done. I cannot, therefore, agree with Colonel Ewart, that at least their services should be given gratuitously to the police. Such a privilege would be open to abuses, which are visible even now, when the use of these agencies is restricted only by the discretion of individuals. For instance, I have known no less than ten telegrams sent to announce to various officials that the wife of a station master had committed suicide by throwing herself under an engine. Nor do I see any practical value in the suggestion that a detective shall be attached to the travelling post-office to inspect the *outsides* of letters and packages with a view to the interception of suspicious missives. In connection with the assassinations of Mr. Norman and Lord Mayo, the *insides* of all suspicious correspondence passing through certain post offices were placed at my disposal for police purposes, under the authority of the Supreme Government. The only letter found that even touched on these horrid murders, was written evidently in view to its being read by the authorities. I remember, however, one eminently successful instance of surveillance of this sort. It was a case in which a high postal

official, suspecting an intrigue, opened and read a letter from his own wife to her paramour.

I come at last to a subject upon which Colonel Ewart and I are wholly at one. I mean the use of photography as a means of identification of persons who have been previously convicted. This valuable police agent is not, as Colonel Ewart says, used so extensively, or so systematically as it might be. Under the provisions of the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1871, registers of criminals are kept at the central police offices of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to these offices the governors of prisons send photographs of habitual criminals with full particulars as to personal appearance, peculiarities, and antecedents. The prisoners themselves are sent to the offices at which they are to periodically report themselves, and are there scrutinized and compared with their photographs by the local police previous to release. The photographs and descriptive rolls are kept at the central offices for reference. The number of portraits so received at the Scottish office, in the first year of the system, was 870. In England no less than 117,568 persons were photographed in the first three years, and about 30,000 per annum afterwards. In France, also, photography is still more extensively used. During the past six years no fewer than 60,000 malefactors sat in prison for their portraits. And with a view to facilitate identification, these portraits are all classified according to height or other undeviating measurement of body. Further sub-divisions are made in accordance with marked peculiarities of person or manner. Thus instead of having to search through thousands of portraits, the number to be examined can be reduced to quite a small number. Something of the kind was attempted by an officer of the Bengal Police well known for his inventive genius. He placed his *badmashes* in a sort of close fitting cage, like the wire envelope of an Exshaw's brandy-bottle, each mesh of which was numbered, and then noted in a register the number of the particular mesh which fell against the various salient points of the body. The idea was perhaps more ingenious than practical, and so met the fate of many other early efforts of great minds in a right direction. The French system would, at any rate, obviate risk of the mistake said to have been made by the police of a trans-Caucasian station, who, on receiving six photographs of a 'wanted' Nihilist, each showing him in a different position, telegraphed to the prefect at St. Petersburg—"Your Excellency,—I have the honour to report that I have already caused to be arrested four of the atrocious criminals whose portraits you recently sent, and from information received, confidently hope to capture the other two very shortly." And such mistakes are specially likely to occur

where natives of India are concerned. Only a few days ago I showed a photograph of a neighbour to some villages, and half of them identified it as one man, and half as another man. One more positive than the rest, said 'why that's the necklace he always wears.'—The necklace being the iron neck-ring and tally of a convict!

Photography is cheap—on the sands at Weston the likenesses of my children were taken at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ a dozen!—and criminals working under *aliases* are, alas! to be counted by thousands. A set of albums on the French system should be prepared at Central Jails, and be open to the inspection of police officers. Spare copies should be kept to despatch to distant places on receipt of intimation that an unknown criminal had been arrested. A brief description of person would indicate to the jail superintendent which volume of the album to send. It was by aid of photography that I was enabled to trace the antecedents of Abdoolah, the assassin of Mr. Norman, Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal. I sent photographs to the up-country stations he was thought likely to have visited, and a *quondam* school-fellow, at Mirzapore, at once identified him. The victim of the Amherst Street murder was also identified by means of photography.

The incubus of superfluous clerical work complained of by Colonel Ewart does not exist in Bengal. Persistent effort is made by our inspecting officers to relieve us of all unnecessary writing. There is no doubt a great deal of writing, especially at stations. The double system in force is responsible for much of it. The office of District Superintendent has to answer the calls of both Inspector-General and Commissioner, and the police station to satisfy the demands of both Sub-divisional officer and District Superintendent. Colonel Ewart urges a more extensive use of the printing-press, the supply of lithographed *patwari* maps, or *cameræ lucide*, to investigating officers. The aid of the printing-press can only be usefully and economically applied under certain conditions, and where these exist we have already taken advantage of it. To supply the local police with spare plans of large towns and railway premises might be a practical measure, but to distribute broadcast over rural districts maps of each village, or other small agricultural area, on the chance of a murder or other crime needing cartographical elucidation, some day occurring therein, is, to say the least of it, a provision of somewhat too bountiful a nature.

There are many ways, no doubt, in which the operations of the police might be facilitated and rendered more certain and effectual. For instance, phenyle might be supplied for the preservation of corpses, or still better, such a number of competent medical officers as to obviate the necessity for dragging

bloated bodies about the country. Chowkidars might be presented with umbrellas, lanterns, and alarms; police stations be furnished with clocks and sun-dials; and districts with a museum of false scales, forged notes, base coin, and other interesting products of the criminal brain, for the edification of police neophytes. The line must, however, be drawn somewhere, and as Colonel Ewart plaintively remarks: "in these days of an impoverished public exchequer, whenever the question of efficient establishment is raised, it is at once met with the reply, that there is not enough money."

But of all the various mechanical and scientific appliances ever enlisted to aid an overworked, baffled, and exhausted police, the telephone is Colonel Ewart's especial favourite. Having with much personal labour, and at his own expense, successfully introduced this instrument at Delhi, he is now desirous of extending its benefits to every town in India, the population of which amounts to 50,000. He maintains that by establishing rapid communication between stations and the central office, time and men may be saved and greater efficiency be secured. That telephonic or electrical communication may be advantageously applied to great cities, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and perhaps a few others, where fires are frequent and fire-brigades kept up, I will not gainsay. But that the advantages secured in smaller towns, such as Gaya, and Bhaugulpur, would compensate for the cost of construction and maintenance, I absolutely deny. The number of occasions in these towns in which sudden concentration of police, or extremely rapid inter-sectional communication is required, is quite insignificant.

The benevolent exertions of Colonel Chapman and others, in behalf of military pensioners have my full sympathy, provided that these men be not benefitted at the expense of efficiency in other branches of the public service. Sir Henry Maine, it was I think, who said there was no worse policeman than the old soldier, and I entirely agree with him. Our ranks were filled with them when first the force was organized, and now that we have weeded them out, let us not again hamper ourselves with men, who, to other disqualifications, add that of old age. There is, I think, only one capacity in the police in which military pensioners can be usefully employed, and that is drill instructor. I once employed a pensioner in this manner and he gave unqualified satisfaction.

For watch and ward duties I confess to having more faith in patrolling constables than in sleepy superannuated soldiers, in charge of telephonic dials, liable to be gagged or upset in their sentry-boxes, like the old watchmen of London in the days of Pierce Egan, when 'boxing a Charlie' was a favourite

pastime of young bloods ! I should like to hear from a less interested source than the patentee how telephonic kiosks have successfully superseded the policeman in the streets of that wonderful city, Chicago, and how the American 'Crooks' are prevented from rendering the telephone unavailable by the simple expedient of spiking the lock of the kiosk.

Telephones may have been found most useful in Delhi, but it is disappointing to find no explanation as to why they failed to efficiently supplement police action, either in the oft-quoted Dariba outrage, or other heinous offences said to have become so prevalent of late.

As a matter of economy it would certainly, in some of the towns selected by Col. Ewart, be cheaper for the State to make good all losses by theft than to establish and maintain telephones or telegraphs. Labour is cheap enough in this country to compete successfully with mechanical contrivances in many cases, where at home it would be beaten out of the field. But even in London, the electrical communication between stations is found more adapted to fire-brigades than to police purposes.

The system of employing informers, the extension of which is advocated by Col. Ewart, is one which, like the approver system, needs to be worked with the utmost caution. Usually the only distinction between the informer and the approver is that the guilt of the latter has been, or can be, proved, the authorities having, therefore, a greater hold on him. To him they can offer the alternative of life or death, liberty or perpetual imprisonment. To the informer they can hold out only the inducement of handsome remuneration for the very unhandsome services rendered. As I have already remarked, the knowledge of the informer will ordinarily be in exact proportion to his villainy. It will usually be the interest of the professional informer to convict the innocent in preference to the guilty, provided he can do so with impunity. He has less to fear from the vengeance of innocent victims, specially selected from spite or for their helplessness, than from desperate associates, hardened by crime. Moreover, if crime be put a stop to by the conviction of the real, but very impure, Simons, the vocation of informers is gone. This is not mere theory ; for nothing came out more clearly in the revelations at Gaya, than that the advantage of keeping the ball rolling was fully recognized by both police and their spies. Wherever the services of such agents have been freely used abuses have always followed. In England, in the early part of the last century, the public were plundered by Jonathan Wild and his crew to such an extent that legislative measures became imperative, and, for the first time " persons taking money or reward under pretence or upon account of recovering goods

that had been stolen, *without apprehending the felon*," were themselves treated as felons. The unfortunate Jonathan was himself one of the first of the felons executed under this law—the second charge against him being that he had formed a kind of corporation of thieves of which he was the head or director, and that, notwithstanding his pretended services in detecting and prosecuting offenders, he procured such only to be hanged as concealed their booty or refused to share it with him. This salutary law, though still in force, and very necessary in the interests of justice, is not always appreciated by the victim of a heavy theft, and quite recently a certain noble earl so far forgot himself as to advertise a large reward for the recovery of his wife's jewels, promising that no questions would be asked!

At the time of its enactment the advantage of this law was quite neutralized by the ill-advised action of the Government of the day, which offered a large reward for every conviction of burglary. In 1755 four men, named Berry, Salmon, Macdonald and Gahagan, were detected and convicted of conspiring with others to induce people to commit felonies so as to obtain the blood-money. They were sentenced to stand in the pillory, where they met with frightful maltreatment from the hands of an infuriated populace—one of them being instantly killed, and others left for dead.

In 1816 a similar conspiracy was detected in which, as in the previous case, the Bow Street runners were mixed up. Some of these men, says a well-informed writer,—such as Lavender, Ruthven, Smithers (killed by Thistlewood), Townsend, the brothers Forester, and Charles Frederick Field, were men of great courage, energy, and shrewdness, but many more were of a very inferior calibre. These latter proved as venal as there were ruffianly, and were as frequently the accomplices as the foes of the malefactors, with whom they alternately caroused and fought in the "finishes" and "flash-houses" of the time. Mr. Jack Thurtell had cracked many a bottle and rattled many a dice-box with the Bow-Street runners of his day before he was there captive. The blood-money system involved the disbursement of increasingly large sums, and it at last became apparent that many innocent persons were being wrongfully convicted. An act was then passed by which the whole system of rewards was swept away.

About the same time this dangerous system was being abused to the fullest extent in France, where that archtraitor Vidocq was carrying on his pranks, and Chatcaubriand ironically described a good police as "that which bribes the servant to accuse his master; which seduces the son to betray his father; which lays snares for friendship and mantraps for innocence."

The system has nevertheless always found advocates, and seems to exercise a sort of fascination over some minds. In 1808, when on the breakdown of Lord Cornwallis's police arrangements, and consequent fearful prevalence of crime, the authorities were at their wit's end as to what remedy to apply, a regular establishment of police spies, called "*goindars*," was organized, with men called *girdawars* to supervise. The duty of the *goindars* was to point out the robbers, that of the *girdawars* to apprehend them, corresponding in this respect exactly with '*les agents secret*, and *la service de sûreté* of the present police of Paris. So far from answering the end in view, these men caused a very material increase to the crime they were employed to suppress. Sir Henry Strachey, in the celebrated Fifth Report, tells us that "the people are harassed by the vexatious visits and outrage, and the plunder of *goindars* and *girdawars*; who constantly, when supported by the least colour of authority from the magistrate, intimidate, extort, suborn, and rob, under pretence of bringing offenders to justice." The following admission was reluctantly made by a member of the Government, himself a warm advocate of the system: "That abuses have been practised by *goindars* or informers, but still more by *girdawars* or those entrusted with power to apprehend, is unquestionable. Seeking a livelihood by the profession in which they had engaged, but not able always to procure it by the slow means of the detection of crimes and proof of guilt, they have no doubt resorted but too often to various modes of extortion; sometimes from persons of suspected character, and at other times from the honest part of the community under threats of accusation, and have occasionally proceeded to prefer groundless charges, and even to support them by false evidence, and instances have actually occurred where there has been too much reason to believe that the *goindar* himself devised the robbery, of which he convicted the unhappy wretches, reduced by his arts to a participation in the crime." "To such a height," writes Mr. Mill "had the enormity of convicting innocent persons for the sake of the head-money proceeded, that in 1810 the necessity was felt of destroying the temptation by putting the reward offered for the conviction of offenders on a new foundation." The judge of circuit reporting on the state of the 24 pergunnahs pointed out the existence of another danger, *viz.*, a strong disinclination on the parts of magistrates to redress grievances caused by their own agents. Mr. Grant, as we have seen, found that human nature had not improved in this respect by the lapse of near half a century. The enquiry into affairs at Gaya, and neighbouring districts, revealed a state of things precisely similar in principle, and only less scandalous, from the absence of official sanction, and the consequent

necessity to conceal the system from the authorities. The most dangerous dacoits and burglars were found acting as spies and informers, unregistered and unknown, except to the subordinate police with whom they were in league. Since then the regular employment of spies has been specifically prohibited by circular orders.

A large sum of money is still at the disposal of the police department for the purposes of procuring information in regard to opium smuggling. If this money is devoted, as I understand it is meant to be, to tempting to isolated acts for treachery, persons engaged in, or having knowledge of, smuggling on a considerable scale, such as is carried on by traders and cultivators in collusion, no harm may be done. But if, under misapprehension of the intentions of Government, informers are engaged beforehand for the purposes of detecting smuggling, petty or other, then I cannot but fear evil results. Proof of smuggling can be easily and securely fabricated. Few persons, likely to be victimized, possess a character which would be held conclusive of their innocence of an offence not differing in degree from one which is held in light estimation by some English gentlewomen. I will give an instance, of which, with others, I am personally cognizant. A district Superintendent, finding that nothing had been done in the way of detection of smuggling at one of his out-stations, sent for a chowkidar, who had the reputation of being in the secrets of the smugglers, and exhorted him to action, promising liberal reward. Within a month, a smart constable, wearer of a good conduct stripe, brought to the station a man, he said he had met on the road and searched on suspicion, finding upon him upwards of an ounce of opium concealed in some meal tied up in a cloth. The officer in charge of the station went through the form of a minute investigation, and sent the man for trial. In his defence he stated that the son of this very chowkidar had enticed him along the road, and then asking him to hold the cloth, while he went to buy some tobacco, made himself scarce, and the constable, at this moment turning up, arrested him. His story was disbelieved by the Magistrate, who knew nothing of the recent action of the District Superintendent, and imprisoned him for two months. Can there be a reasonable doubt that the constable and chowkidar arranged the plan between them in the hope of obtaining the promised reward?

Mr. Meason remarks that in the informer-system there is no certainty. "The reward offered may or may not induce one of those guilty to come forward and denounce his partners in guilt." In Ireland it has succeeded in one instance,* but this may

* If the Maantrasna murders are meant, the case is no exception, as the approvers, Casey and Philbin, have since repudiated the confessions on

be regarded as quite exceptional. In England, as the Police authorities will say, there is hardly an instance in which any amount in the shape of a reward has induced a thief, murderer, or other criminal to inform against his companions. So much is this the case, that the saying of "honour among thieves" may be regarded practically true. This is precisely the result of my experience in India. If any one doubt it, let him go to any jail and attempt to bribe a *Chamar*, convicted of cattle-poisoning, to tell truthfully whence came the arsenic with which the crime was perpetrated. False accusations may be bought by the bushel, but not the betrayal of confederates in crime, except in rare instances, when from spite or other reason, the information would probably have been given for nothing. A reward of Rs. 10,000 was offered for information as to the instigators of the assassin of Mr. Norman, and numerous were the attempts made to secure the prizes by adventurers of various creeds and nationalities; Affghans, native Mahomedans, Hindoos, and even one European. Fortunately, in every case, it was possible to demonstrate the falseness of the story. I had the assassin and his weapon under lock and key, and false identifications were difficult. When the informer professed to be well acquainted with Abdoolah, I took the precaution to dress him as a warder and make him produce, for inspection, other Affghans arrayed in prison costume. This simple device was successful in all but one case, in which the informer had, I suppose, made a careful study of Abdoolah's photographs, by that time to be seen everywhere. He positively identified Abdoolah as a Wahábce *Kásid*, who it was afterwards satisfactorily proved had been dead for ten years! As an instance of the difficulty of watching spies, I may mention that one of these gentry proffered me his services in the above case, and I gave him a commission, but distrusting him, set some skilful detectives to secretly watch his movements. He shortly returned and professed himself unable to act if followed by detectives.

From the foregoing remarks on the principle features of Colonel Ewart's scheme, it may be gathered that, in my opinion, so far from there being any paramount necessity for the creation of a special detective force in Bengal, I think that unless it can be organized on some novel plan and safer lines than those upon which forces of this description have hitherto been based, I think we are much better without such an agency. The principal factor in an effective police system is, I think, a trustworthy intelligent police unit, liberally paid, closely supervised,

which Myles Joyce was hanged and others imprisoned, attributing them to the temptation of a reward of £300 offered by the Crown, and adding that the real criminals are still at large.

and responsible for the peace of a circle of such a size that he may be able to efficiently watch it, and to become acquainted with the personal appearance, means of livelihood, and general repute of every person therein residing—every part of the country being included in such a circle. It was by means of a wide-awake watchman of this kind that the dynamite plotters were discovered and defeated at Birmingham, and not by any occult detective method. In large towns, where criminals most do congregate, there must be no stint of watchmen. The proceedings of Amir Khan and his gang would have been earlier checked, had there been an efficient watch and ward in Delhi and Meerut. Such outrages could not take place in Calcutta. Prevention is better than detection, is a good maxim for policemen, only too often ignored—because, forsooth, its adoption as a rule of conduct, leadeth not straight to the glittering goal of individual glorification! “To my mind,” said Sir H Hawkins, in a recent friendly address to the London Police, “the constable who keeps his beat free from crime deserves much more credit than he does who only counts up the number of convictions he has obtained for offences committed in it.”

In order to approach perfection in the line, I have indicated, much, no doubt, remains to be done. Our chief desideratum is perhaps a reformed rural police. Regarding this, our most pressing need, Colonel Ewart says little. Our next want is, a larger number of competent and trustworthy investigating officers. *Thirdly*, we require schools—not to teach such trifles as the art of disguising oneself, as suggested by Colonel Ewart—but firstly to examine and test the capacity of candidates, and afterwards to impart to recruits a thorough grounding in criminal law and the rules of the department, so that they may enter upon their onerous duties with some little knowledge, instead of as at present in a state of crass ignorance. *Fourthly*, we should be the better for some enactment legalizing the detention of criminals believed to be old offenders, till their antecedents have been ascertained; and a proportionate term of imprisonment awarded them. In the case of homeless wanderers, against whom no previous convictions can be adduced, they might, on release, be sent to a colony established under the Criminal Tribe's Act. *Fifthly*, as I have already said, our system of photography for the purpose of identification might be improved. With good material and proper direction the ordinary police are, I think, as likely to cope successfully with ordinary crime as any special detective agency. When unusually intricate or ramified cases present themselves, they can be successfully dealt with by temporarily selected officers, as heretofore; and if secrecy is required, it can

be more easily secured under this system than by the use of a permanent detective staff, the most prominent members of which must soon become known.

For the rest, we may safely trust to the general advance of civilisation to keep us abreast of the criminals. It is not by a detective police that within the last century the high-roads in England have been made safe ; nor is it to such an organization that we must look, primarily, for progress in India. Uttering forged notes and base coin remained unchecked, even when punishable with death, till the appliances of science rendered these offences almost impossible. A repetition of the atrocities of Burke and Hare was prevented by an Act of Parliament regulating the supply of bodies for dissection. The lighting up of the streets of London was followed by a large decrease of crime. Reformatories have, perhaps, done more in the way of diminishing crime than anything else. In less than ten years the number of juvenile convicts in England was reduced by this means more than fifty per centum. In India, postal robberies have, by Colonel Ewart's own showing, almost disappeared under an improved postal system. And there can be no doubt that the splitting up of districts into magisterial sub-divisions has, by bringing justice more to the doors of the people, had a good effect upon crime.

Sir Walter Scott wrote, with reference to what he called the "frightful agency of the police." "This institution may, even in its mildest form, be regarded as a necessary evil ; for even though, while great cities continue to afford obscure retreats for vice and crime of every description, there must be men, whose profession it is to discover and bring criminals to justice, as while there are vermin in the animal world, there must be kites and carrion-crows to diminish their number ; yet, as the excellence of these guardians of the public depends in a great measure on their familiarity with the arts, haunts, and practices of culprits, they cannot be expected to feel the same horror for crimes or criminals, which is common to other men. On the contrary, they have a sympathy with them, of the same kind which hunters entertain for the game which is the object of their pursuit. Besides, as much of their business is carried on by the medium of spies, they must be able to personate the manners and opinions of those whom they detect ; and are frequently induced by their own interests, to direct, encourage, nay, suggest crimes, that they may obtain the reward due for conviction of offenders."

If, then, funds be available, let them be devoted rather to the improvement and perfection of existing machinery, and to such indirect and unobjectionable crime preventives as above indicated, than to the creation of an engine, powerful equally for

harm as for good, difficult of control, and only to be tolerated as a necessary evil, under the surest safeguards, within the narrowest possible limits.

In conclusion, I trust it will not be thought that I have exaggerated the propensities and opportunities for evil, or unnecessarily aspersed the character of the department to which I have the honour to belong. If it can be shown that my experiences are altogether exceptional, or that I have failed to apprehend aright the teachings of two and twenty years, no one will rejoice more than myself. In thus, for the first time, publicly expressing my views, I have been actuated by a desire, rather to prevent a threatened danger—an increase to the numerous difficulties with which we have already to contend—than to expose iniquities which cannot be altogether prevented, and from which, I firmly believe, the Police of Bengal to be at present, as free as the police of any other province of India.

A. H. GILES.

ART. III.—THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

NOW that the agitation in connection with the Franchise Bill is over, it may not be amiss to enquire whether, and in what directions, the House of Lords requires reform. The chief objection raised by Radicals is to what is called the hereditary principle, *i. e.*, the system by which a man sits and votes in the Upper House, simply because he is his father's son. That a young nincompoop should, by the untimely death of his father, be elevated to the rank of a legislator and take his seat among venerable and experienced men whose whole lives have been passed in the service of their country, does seem absurd. If the Radicals would confine themselves to the remedy of this grievance, it would soon disappear.

The right to sit and vote in the House of Lords is almost the best valued privilege that attaches to a peerage. But there is reason for thinking that the Radical mind does not hanker so much after the abolition of this privilege as after the withdrawal of others which are more valued. To prove how indifferent a large number of peers are to the right of sitting and voting in the Upper House, we need only compare the division lists of the House of Lords with those of the House of Commons. All told, about 500 persons have a right to vote in the House of Lords, and 658 to vote in the House of Commons. Divisions of over 500 are quite common in the Lower House, while on several occasions more than 600 votes have been recorded. Add to this that there is often a large number of pairs, and we may conclude that, in every important question, the opinion of nearly every member of the Lower House is recorded whether he may be touring in Palestine, hunting in Nepaul, or exploring the glens of the rocky mountains. This is not the case with the House of Peers. A division in which more than 200 votes are recorded is a rarity. The oratory is for the most part maintained by a few representatives of old families, and a large number of men who made their names as statesmen in the House of Commons.

The origin of the House of Lords, as well as of the House of Commons, was in the royal command. A peer, if summoned, was bound to appear just as an ordinary defendant in a civil suit. So boroughs and counties were bound to send up representatives to Parliament, failing which penalties were incurred. To represent a borough or a county in the Lower House was for long looked upon, not as a privilege but as a duty, the non-performance of which entailed unpleasant consequences. It was for this reason that members of Parliament

were paid by their constituents instead of by the State. But what was originally a duty, and often an unpleasant one, became in time a valued privilege, and this in the case of Peers and Commons alike. The necessity for a Peer to attend Parliament no longer exists. The result is, that nearly half the Peers never attend at all. The duty of sending representatives to the House of Commons is practically enforced by our system of party government.

On the face of it, it would appear, that there was now no longer any necessity to retain the hereditary principle so far as regards the right to sit and vote in the Upper House. A young Earl with no taste for politics simply stays away and finds a position among men of his bent in literature, art, science, or even athletics. A young Earl who does care for politics, goes to the House of Lords, chiefly because he cannot go to the House of Commons, where he would get a much better training as an orator, and find more scope for the development of such abilities as he possessed. Accordingly it is no longer necessary to maintain the hereditary principle in its present form, or to give a seat in the House of Lords to every Peer, irrespective of age or other qualifications. Mr. Froude has suggested that only Peers who are also Privy Councillors should be summoned. His suggestion does, to some extent, meet the requirements of the case. The Privy Council embraces every leading politician of the time, and there is no reason why the list should not be made more elastic and include every foremost man in the worlds of literature, art, science and commerce. At any rate, the spirit of the age requires that some other qualification, besides being his father's son, be necessary to entitle a man to sit in the House of Lords. The foundation of the influence of that House was in landed property and territorial dignity. It is not necessary, and certainly not advisable, to ignore these now. They are as important now as they were five centuries ago. But five centuries ago they belonged almost exclusively to Peers; while now there are many Peers with less landed property and less local influence than distinguished Commoners.

There is, further, no necessity to alter the designation of the House of Peers. Most distinguished Commoners can even now be elevated to the Upper House while their party is in power; and, in fact, the House of Lords is chiefly recruited in this manner.

But the above reform would not be deemed sufficient unless it also admitted of the employment of distinguished Indian and Colonial officials as members of the Upper House. At present India and the Colonies are represented in the Upper House by a few Peers who have, from time to time, been sent out as Governors or Governors-General. Many of these even have

served only for very short periods, at distant dates, and their opinions are consequently hazy or antiquated. In the Lower House, India and the Colonies are entirely unrepresented; for, though an Indian or Colonial official does occasionally obtain a seat, he does so, not as a representative of the Government he has served, but as the chosen candidate of one or other of the parties in a home constituency. France is ahead of us in this respect, and we might do worse than copy her example.

What we propose is, that each Government should send a fixed number of representatives to the House of Lords, who should retain their seats during the life of each Parliament and be eligible for re-election. The representatives chosen should be officials either actually in harness or very lately employed; commercial and other gentlemen who had resided for at least ten years in the colony or dependency they represent, and who were largely interested in the welfare of the said colony or dependency; and lastly, distinguished natives.

That the House of Lords, and not the House of Commons, is the place for such representatives is apparent from the following considerations:—

Firstly:—Not one in twenty of our Colonial or Indian administrators can enter fully into the party discussions at home, the result of which decides the strength of parties in the Lower House

Secondly:—The men likely to be chosen would be, in the best sense, elders of the people, whose fitting sphere would be a Senate, composed of the venerable of the Empire.

Thirdly:—It would be desirable to attach them to a House which represents the fixed opinions of the nation, and other than to one which represents its passing whims, or its present fancies. They would be of more use in directing the opinions of the people into proper channels, than in recording the results of a general election.

Another body from which the House of Lords might conveniently be recruited, is the consular and diplomatic staff employed in foreign countries: representatives of this body might be placed on a par with those of the Indian and Colonial governments.

In conclusion, we should warn the Radicals that in proceeding against the House of Lords, they are likely to go too far. So far as they object to the hereditary right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, the spirit of the age is on their side, and the people recognize that the House of Lords needs reform just as much as the Lower House. But when Radicals attack the principle of hereditary right to property in land, the people will fail to see why the principle should be sacred where

stocks and shares are concerned ; and we feel sure that when the question is fairly put to the nation, the nation will not be found on the side of the Radicals. If, perchance it is, the Radicals will probably get the worst of it after all, when their ideas are carried to their legitimate ends. When, again, they object to the social supremacy which the title of " Lord " gives, we answer that it is beyond their power to take that supremacy away. They cannot wipe out old traditions. The descendant of a " Lord " will be just as proud of his glorious ancestors whether he retains his title or not.

This was tried in the French revolution, with the effect, that a more severe distinction than ever was drawn between the old families and the upstarts who presumed to replace them. It was tried to a lesser extent in our own English revolution with exactly the same result. A " Lord " is a " Lord," and will continue to be one as long as he can, or cares to, point to his pride of birth and station, and he will point to these whether he has a seat in the House of Peers or not. What is more, others will point to them. The Radicals themselves will acknowledge them, and bow down and serve them.

What we want now is to reform our Senate. That is all. We have pointed out the direction in which reform is required. If these reforms are carried out, we shall have a Senate superior to that which now exists, and immeasurably superior to any that exists elsewhere. We shall also have one that will knit in bonds of closest union the various dependencies of the greatest empire the world has seen. By this we shall strengthen the mother-country and colonies alike. We shall face the world as a united people and shall not tremble, though the rest of the nations rise combined against us.

M.

ART. IV.—THE THEOSOPHICAL MOVEMENT.

NO reasonable man can hope to avoid misunderstandings altogether in connexion with a new movement of thought. For anyone concerned with such a movement, the hardship of being saddled with assertions he never made, and doctrines he never propounded, is very great; but this treatment has to be accepted with patience as a natural consequence of the mental activity characteristic of our age and country. People of quick imagination cannot help criticising new ideas wherever they crop up, no matter how crude and fragmentary their presentation, and such ideas are lucky if not so dealt with on the basis of a fragmentary statement purposely put forward as a caricature. This last fate, as well as the first, has often befallen the Theosophical movement, but in truth, it is an effort which no cultivated and well-disposed person of any nationality, who comprehends it rightly, can have any ground for regarding either with ridicule or hostility. If false impressions, concerning the objects of the Theosophical Society are kept aside, as well as mistaken notions in reference to abnormal occurrences that have perhaps been too much talked about in connexion with its work, there will remain,—a path of operations, which every one may not make it worth while to enter upon, but which no man, amenable to the force of reason, can condemn as a path leading to evil consequences or emerging from any sort of delusion.

In other words, people who have become zealous members of the Theosophical Society are governed by a disposition to think that highly important truths, relating to the origin and future destinies of man, may be reached by a certain line of study, and that a great deal may be done towards obliterating the acrimonious warfare of sects, by uniting for the purposes of such study in a broad, loosely organised association, which exacts from its fellows no subscription to any test or belief whatever, beyond a simple recognition of the principle that men may wisely engage in a fraternal search for those fundamental truths which must underlie the discrepant creeds of the modern world, so far as each or any of these creeds have real truth in them. Already, indeed, some members of the Theosophical Society believe that they have prosecuted this search along the lines indicated by the founders of the Society, with great success. Individual members may conceive, with varying degrees of confidence, that certain persons who have communicated to them within the pale of the society the results, or

some of the results of *their* search after spiritual truth, have shown themselves so richly endowed with knowledge and intellectual capacity as to be manifestly qualified in an extraordinary degree to point out the way to others, and thus to save new inquirers 99 per cent. of the trouble they would otherwise have to take. But if ever it is represented that Theosophists are the blindly credulous recipients of a great volume of cut and dried Oriental dogmatism, that statement can only be a more or less disingenuous perversion of the state of things just described. As Theosophists they are simply inquirers after truth, and may not be the less Theosophists because they are also, as the case may be, Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Parsees.

Will an objection be raised at the threshold here, to the effect that so vague an aspiration as the desire for spiritual truth can be no bond of union; that everyone who reads or thinks of serious things is to that extent a Theosophist, by this definition already, and without having ever heard of the persons who have especially arrogated to themselves that title? Certainly, every open-minded person who reads or thinks with the view of revising, and not merely with that of confirming, established conceptions, is a potential Theosophist, but in the society that has recently been formed to pursue such revision systematically, there is just so much of a predominant leaning towards enquiry, in a certain direction, as to give the society a clearly-defined reason for its existence, without militating against the intellectual liberty of its members. This leaning has been determined by what the present leaders of the society regard as their great success in obtaining an insight into spiritual science, with the help of some members of a certain organization, that has its principal seat at present, in Tibet. It is only within very recent years that anything has been known of this organisation beyond the circle of its own initiates, and whenever, among persons who have paid any attention to the matter at all, a low estimate is formed of the importance of the Theosophical movement, this can only ensue from a doubt whether the information now current in the world, concerning the organisation referred to, is to be relied on. For if I am even approximately right in the statements, which in some books of mine on the subject, I have ventured to put forward, the assistance of those who are known in the East as the Mahatmas cannot but be of priceless importance for all students of spiritual truth, whatever their creed or nationality.

The convictions formed by those of us who think we have ascertained with certainty that the occult fraternity of the Mahatmas, or adepts, has a real existence, are to the effect that

the members of this fraternity have developed, by extraordinary exertions, a faculty for exploring the mysteries of nature along some other paths besides those marked out by the physical senses. The chain of evidence on which those convictions rest is long and intricate, and it is in reference to this evidence, especially that misunderstandings on the part of careless readers of fragmentary Theosophical writings are so apt to arise. Just as in the case of a very long trial before a court of justice, some detached portions of the evidence will seem, by readers of these alone, to have no connexion with the main facts under examination, so the records of some isolated occurrences that have interested Theosophical enquirers, as contributing to establish some link in the chain of their evidence, will often be scoffed at as trivial and insignificant bases for the large conclusions supposed to be derived from them. But the evidence, patiently summed up, if examined as a whole, will not be found insufficient, and the smallest incident, revealing on the part of those who are invested in any degree with the abnormal powers of the Mahatmas may be a brick in the edifice,—may serve its purpose in demonstrating the possibility that, by the methods of self-development, which the Mahatmas employ, faculties are awakened that subserve the investigation of natural laws, ranging beyond those that can be appreciated with the aid of the physical senses only. The mistake constantly made in reference to this branch of the argument is, that the abnormal phenomena which are thus treated as of importance, are gloated over with a mere wonder-loving enthusiasm by their narrators as supernatural occurrences, held, because they are supernatural, to be miraculous guarantees of a new religion. Nothing of the kind is claimed on their behalf. There are no students of physical science in any laboratory in London, who are more emphatic in repudiating the supernatural, as an absurd contradiction in terms, than the students of occult science. These are quite well aware that when they encounter a physical phenomenon, apparently doing violence to what are commonly received as the laws of matter, its importance lies,—*not* in the notion, which they never contemplate for an instant, that the order of Nature has been reversed in this case,—but in the evidence so afforded that the previously received conception of the order of Nature has been shown to be incomplete. And when they find that the phenomenon under consideration exhibits, on the part of those by whom it is provoked, a grasp of some higher generalisation than that which has sufficed to embrace more commonplace phenomena, the importance they attach to that discovery is as follows: They argue, as it seems to me, not unreasonably, that within the limits of that

higher generalisation it is very likely that a purview of Nature is obtainable, that may bring within the knowledge of those enjoying it, an enlarged group of experiences calculated to throw light on many problems which appear to transcend "the knowable" from the lower standpoint. It is quite true that none of the very many abnormal phenomena that have been witnessed by many theosophic students, nor even all of them collectively, constitute a demonstration of the whole scheme of teaching concerning the past and future evolution of humanity, that has been obtained, by this time, from the Mahatmas. But these phenomena and the assurances of a variety of persons in a position to know, do prove that Mahatmas exist, and exercise powers which link the operations of mind with the phenomena of matter, and exhibit the consciousness and will of man as forces, under some circumstances of extraordinary potency, capable of effecting consequences far beyond the range of the nervous and muscular systems in which those forces habitually reside. The phenomena of which I myself have been the observer, not to speak of many others of a far more striking character testified to by others quite as well entitled as I am, to be credited with common honesty in giving their evidence, distinctly demonstrate the fact, that some persons are capable of exercising their faculties of perception and reflection and of communicating ideas at places far remote from those at which their bodies may be stationed at the time. The laws of Nature, of which they avail themselves in doing this,—just as we may avail ourselves on the physical plane of the laws relating to the constitution of gases, when we send the voice along a speaking tube,—are on that which, till we understand it better, we may be content to call the psychic plane, but are laws of Nature none the less, and it is just this fact which renders the evidences so afforded important. Our detractors erroneously suppose that we are delighted with these phenomena, because we conceive them to be supernatural. We are delighted with them for exactly the opposite reason—because we know them to be natural, and knowing this perceive the splendid range of possibilities in the direction of acquiring knowledge concerning the higher truths of Nature with which the power of observing on the psychic plane may very probably endow their authors.

The Mahatmas are not fond of putting forward *ex-cathedra* statements, and that which may have been most inclined to do so far as they have taken any active part in directing the philosophic studies of the Theosophical Society, has been to indicate the light which may be thrown upon the evolution of humanity, and the laws of Nature in her higher realms, by the intelligent consideration of old Aryan literature and philo-

sophy, and most of the doctrine so far conveyed to us by the Mahatmas may be shown to lurk under various intricate disguises, in Sanscrit writings which have either not yet been translated at all, or have been translated with reference to the surface meaning only, so that the translations sometimes obliterate the esoteric meaning altogether. Still, of late, and by degrees, with the help of the Mahatmas, some of us in the Theosophical society have picked up so much of this esoteric meaning, that when it comes to be presented in a coherent shape, people often find fault with it because they regard it as *ex-cathedra* statement.

This is only one of the misunderstandings it is my present purpose to dispel. The Theosophical Society is an organisation of enquirers after truth, but unless it is perpetually unsuccessful in its search, it cannot help the accumulation in the hands of its most earnest and persevering members of (what they regard as) a large harvest of truth. New comers are certainly not expected to accept this *en bloc*, but in charging the society with being a band of crocheteers who pin their faith unreasonably on a system of cosmogony, and anthropology, as unproved as it is stupendous, the opponents of the theosophical movements are certainly misdirecting their criticism. It is open to any person to state the conclusions to which his own studies have led him, and if other persons find these conclusions sufficiently interesting to trace them back to their origin, well and good. No one who shrinks from the trouble of so tracing them back, will derive much benefit from them; but, at all events, this trouble may be considerably less than that which, in the first instance, gave rise to their evolution. So far every one who may be disposed to try the path of Theosophical enquiry, even in the most tentative spirit, will be convenienceed and need not be deterred by the fact that his forerunners have formulated and published by this time a good many of the discoveries they believe themselves to have made.

The core, or main truth, underlying these discoveries, as far as I comprehend them, is this:—The spiritual evolution of man is a process that is blended as it goes on, with the physical evolution of the race as traced by the Darwinian theory, but it is not included in that physical evolution. It may be taken note of, by some of those higher faculties brought into play on the psychic plane of natural phenomena, and may be observed to be going on, on that plane, quite independently of its progress on the physical plane. That which, for convenience sake, we may here speak of as the human soul,—though the constitution of the soul examined in the light of esoteric science, is so complex, that the word is not perfectly applicable all along the line,—goes through a process of evolution as prolonged and elaborate in

each individual case, as the evolution of the physical types in which it manifests on the physical plane at successive periods of its growth. The soul is an entity, having materiality of a kind, though the matter of which it is composed is not in the same order of matter as that which constitutes human bodies on this earth; and many of the phenomena which interest students of occult science are valuable, because they demonstrate the existence of this matter of the higher kind. The soul entity or individualised ego, of a human creature, having once attained to that condition, by passing through the lower forms of animated nature, is then educated by successive human incarnations, and refreshed by successive periods of existence on the higher psychic plane. Its individuality is preserved throughout these successive processes of growth, and the fact that the personal adventures of each incarnation are forgotten by the time the next comes on, does not in any way, when the circumstances of such forgetfulness are rightly appreciated, militate against the unity of the individual. They are summed up in the essence of the ego by the time the period for re-incarnation arrives, and thus constitute the advance which that ego has made by virtue of its last life, along the path of spiritual evolution, but they are not even forgotten until they have been fully developed in all their consequences in the psychic existence immediately following the physical life to which they have belonged. There is ample time for this exhaustion of their effects, because the whole process of human evolution is so deliberate, that thousands of years may elapse between the successive incarnations of the same individual ego. If this gradual wearing away of the life memories in each case, strikes a new-comer to the theory as a comfortless notion, that can only be due to an inadequate appreciation, on his part, of what long periods of time really mean. Anyone who says "such or such a feeling in me can never be exhausted, my interest in the life experiences I am passing through, my desire to remember myself as I know myself now, and to compare any later fate that may await me with the destinies I have already endured, can never die away," in saying that, he is simply failing to realise the ultimate significance of the word "never." A man may be so full of thought and affection, and his mental grasp of his "personality," i. e., of the bundle of specific recollections which have grouped themselves during his life around the central core of his imperishable individuality, may be so strong, that he may quite rightly regard that personality as logically, and in justice entitled to a prodigious prolongation. Very well: there is no law of Nature, according to the esoteric interpretation thereof, to say Nay to his aspirations. These recollections, affections and active mental states,

inhere not in the body, which goes to the coffin, but in the far more durable psychic body which death sets free from its grosser encasement. The true ego thus liberated is under no obligation to return to earth as long as the feelings and aspirations referred to, continue in activity, and let us attempt for a moment to measure the future possibilities of their activity by a retrospective comparison. We can look back over some few thousand years of history. We can retrace our steps in imagination along the story of our own country, till with some distinct impression of the length of time concerned we get back into the Roman era, and across that stepping-stone of thought we can roll fancy backward into the misty period of Egyptian civilisation. Let the man who feels that he will be wronged if he does not retain his personal recollections "for ever," imagine himself, perpetuating them along a channel of thought in experience which these exclusively engage, all through the future history of the earth, till the Victorian era of British civilisation has been covered with later strata of events, as thickly as the era of the heptarchy is covered for us. Is his unconquerable love of his own personality unsatisfied still? There is, still, at all events, no natural law, if so, which blots it out. In the processes of geologic change this country itself may melt away, and new continents may be formed to be colonised afresh and slowly bear their social organisations of civilised men. If the ego of our hypothesis is egotistic still, he will hold on to the existence in which that egotism has free scope; but, in truth, the conjecture does a wrong to human nature. The most pleasurable day wears to a close, the most active votary of its enjoyments craves at last for rest, the fullest and brightest life of the kind we are familiar with so far, is for time and not for eternity. At last its feelings, its emotions, its experiences will be sublimated to a true essence which represents the progress of the real individual along the path of spiritual evolution, and thus advanced, the fully refreshed ego will be born again, to take a fresh departure, as from the day-light of another morning.

And it is well for our ultimate perfection that this is the law, for only by a long series of such new departures can the human soul accumulate the attributes required to lead it on to that higher evolution to which it is naturally destined in the future, and from the standpoint of which the humanity we know at present will be looked back upon, almost as we look back upon the lower forms of animal life. This is one of the many profoundly satisfactory aspects of the esoteric doctrine. The history of humanity viewed by the light thus thrown upon it, is not the purposeless agglomeration of suffering which some less highly sensitive interpretations would have

it. It is not a crude tangle of injustice, in which one person is blessed with all happiness, and another cursed with all misery, and both alike treated to an equal share of an unchangeable beatitude afterwards. We may discern in the nature of the esoteric teaching the operation of a retributive law which does not merely obliterate the inequalities of its earlier working by a deluge of results out of proportion to any merit or demerit that can be concerned; but which meets every case with absolute flexibility, and never departs one hair's breadth from the strict fulfilment of justice to each and every human being. Not merely in its operation as regards the ultimate spiritual perfection of the soul, but in regard, also, to the worldly experiences of incarnation, the law of consequences, to which the oriental philosophy gives the name *Karma*, tracks each individual along the almost interminable procession of his incarnations and metes out to him the fruit of his own growth. The doctrine does *not* teach its followers to be callous on that account to human suffering, to leave unturned any stone, the turning of which may afford such suffering relief. But it does supply a sublime justification of suffering which may reconcile us to that which is truly inevitable in our own destiny, as well as in that of others whom we can only reach with a helpless sympathy.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the religious system round us may reconcile us to this by teaching a profound, if as yet unenlightened, trust in the benevolence of God, in whose inscrutable government of the world we may be sure that good will come out of evil eventually, and the dark mysteries of existence in this world be unriddled by-and-bye. And no esoteric teacher would resent this trustful confidence: he would only point out that the esoteric doctrine gives us the explanation much sooner than might have been expected, of the manner in which the good is evoked from the evil, of the providential ways that we might have feared would remain inscrutable much longer. The esoteric doctrine does *not* come to break down, sweep away, or discredit existing religious systems. It comes, on the contrary, to justify them in their essentials, to put aside, with all gentleness, if possible, distortions of original divine truth which have crept over the face of theological dogma, but mainly to give the world a last exact knowledge of spiritual science, so that the actual verities underlying a great many shadowy, but not on that account erroneous, beliefs, may present themselves in clear outlines to the understanding, and constitute intelligible springs of action, the intelligent recognition of which may thenceforward conduce much more efficiently to the higher spiritual evolution of the future, than could be accomplished by the further influence of a blind, however beautiful, a piety.

In this country the Theosophical movement must, probably for some time to come, present itself chiefly to public attention in its aspect as a system of philosophical inquiry ; but its true importance would be ill-appreciated if we considered it merely in this light. In India the movement has another bearing, and there its philosophical, is intimately blended with its social and philanthropic aspects. The rivalry of warring sects in Europe, keen as it may sometimes appear, is a small evil compared with the hitherto irreconcilable hostility of the various religious schools, sects and castes into which the population of India is broken up. The Theosophical Society has, for the first time in modern Indian history, succeeded in constructing a common platform on which Hindoo, Mussalman, Buddhist and Parsee may stand in a fraternal alliance. It has, in actual fact, laid the foundations of the "Universal Brotherhood," which it emphasises as the foremost object of its appeal to the world. With a hundred branches in different parts of the country,—the magnificent fruit of Colonel Olcott's untiring exertions,—the nucleus of this grand union of humanity has already taken shape. In the beginning some objections were raised to the programme of the Association on the ground that beautiful as the idea of universal brotherhood might be, it was merely another phrase for the millenium, and that no practical result was likely to ensue from the promulgation of an idea as vague as the motto of a copy-book. But the Society has lived to prove that in alliance with the philosophical views, it is enabled to suggest its aspirations towards an all-embracing fraternity, are by no means an ebullition of empty sentiment. To begin with the fraternity it aims at is not vitiated by the lower objects of material socialism. It is no community of goods which the Theosophical Society desires to set on foot, but a community of spiritual aspiration, of intellectual endeavour. And it claims this by helping to show that every man whose religion embodies a desire to ascertain essential truth, and not only to trifle with the formalities of ceremonial, or to fight for the predominance of a dogma, *must* at last reach a common platform on which he will find himself side by side with every other truth seeker, no matter from what point of the compass he sets out. This is the way in which the guidance in the study of ancient Aryan literature afforded to the visible leaders of the Society by the real adept founders of the undertaking in the background, has proved of such inestimable value. An immense number of the more thoughtful classes of the Indian people have been persuaded to seek for the correspondences in their respective faiths rather than to dwell upon their discrepancies. And all philanthropists who may, for any reason, be shocked by the crude idolatry and incoherent fancies which

disfigure oriental religions, would do far more wisely to co-operate with the Theosophical Society, in trying to lead the imagination of the Indian people up from these to the primary divine truths they have so sadly caricatured, rather than to waste good effort in a lateral attack. Such an attack cannot be successfully prosecuted from the point of view of a religion which Europe has so far refined in the minds of its most gifted representatives, that these are sometimes apt to forget how it strikes an entirely unprejudiced stanger, when its cut and dried doctrines are crudely presented to him by preachers unable to illuminate their symbology as they proceed. Indeed, we may gather a higher lesson yet from the theosophic position, even than that which would recommend a generous recognition of the good wrought already in India by its fraternal counsels. We may be enabled, at last, to perceive that in penetrating to the core, and partially obscured significance of our great European faith itself, with the help of the light shining from the Oriental Brotherhood, we may discern something more than a moral benefit for India in the establishment of fraternal sentiment there,—something which may reveal to European philosophy that its highest triumphs can only be attained when the universal brotherhood of the Theosophical Society has truly extended its influence across both continents, and has bound together the lovers of Divine Wisdom in England and in Hindustan in an even closer union than that which, for the welfare of both, let us trust, will long continue to attach them in physical allegiance to one governing organisation.

A. P. SINNETT

ART V.—THE MORAL PROGRESS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

THE question is often openly raised, and perhaps more often revolved in the secret working of men's minds, whether the world, which in the history of invention and discovery, exhibits such wonderful advance in physical power and knowledge, can as reasonably boast of progress in the sphere of moral and philosophical thought. Without going back into the shadowy æons postulated for his processes by the evolutionist ; without extending enquiry further than the earliest ages of received history, men have always found the question deeply interesting : " Do the minds of one age merely repeat, in a slightly varying form, the ideas of preceding ages ; does the current of human thought on moral problems merely ebb and flow like a restless sea which yet never passes its immemorial barriers ? Or is it true, that in the revolution of time there is moral as well as physical progress ; that in the well-known words of the Laureate ' the thoughts of men *are* widened with the progress of the suns ? ' The answer to this question must largely depend on a man's surroundings ; on what, in the philosophic phrase of the day, is called his " environment." I propose, however, in the following remarks to assume that most, if not all, readers of this Review would favour the assertion of progress. The suggestive philosophy of Sir Henry Maine discriminates between Stationary and Progressive Societies in the realm of social and political law, and there can be no arrogance in making, for practical purposes, the assumption that English-speaking communities belong to the latter class. If moral progress is not to be found among the peoples that regard the Magna Charta and the Reformation as standpoints in their national history, where, indeed, shall we look for it ? If England then is, as a nation morally progressive, her Government, her policy and administration, both at home and abroad, should show it. My present purpose is to examine the marks of moral progress discernible in her administration of that great dependency which, for weal or woe, is indissolubly connected with her ; which, according to the character of the leading principles of such administration, will prove either her glory or her shame.

Reference to such leading principles seems specially desirable at the present time, when there are signs of movement all round us alike in the social and political life of India. We are in a period of transition and development : the old barriers of stationary thought, immovably restrictive through so many generations of oriental rule, are beginning to give way under the

manifold influences of English administrative civilisation. Religion, social custom, nay the characteristic quintessence of Hindu social life, cast itself—has begun to come under the influence of that unobtrusive revolution in life and thought which ever follows in the wake of the railway and the telegraph. "The leaven at present is small, but it is spreading, and such fermentation, once begun, extends with an ever-increasing strength and speed. The directions which the new social forces will take, must, to some extent, remain at present matter of conjecture, and where conjecture only is available, men will frame the future variously according to their temperament. No wonder that many minds, both in India and England, looking on these uncertain and complicated tendencies set in motion, and gravely appreciating their enormous potentiality for evil, if not wisely controlled; remembering too, the many-sided earnestness of irresponsible democratic opinion in England which ever more and more seems to seek its reflex in India; no wonder that many minds are anxiously asking the same question about the future of the State that the Roman poet put in his day under not more pregnant and critical circumstances:—

"O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus? O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum. Nonne vides ut
Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo,
Antennæque gemant * * *
Non tibi sunt integra lintea;
Non Di—"

Now this anxiety is not lightly to be put away, much less is it to be ridiculed. The very first lesson to be thoroughly grasped in Indian politics is the gravity of our situation as the ruling power. It is, I believe, unique in the history of the world as to the sublime, yet matter of fact, audacity with which it has been assumed: it may be, I trust, unique in the splendid beneficence of its results. But the task is literally stupendous, and can only be adequately discharged, under the Providence of God, by a nation the majority of which shall prove themselves heroes. In endeavouring to speak worthily on such a theme, one is content to risk the reproach of being grandiloquent.

In order to gauge the moral progress of English rule in India, it will be necessary to obtain as broad a view of the historical facts as possible. The advantage of doing so is two-fold; we are less likely to be wrong in our generalisations on the past, and consequently have a better chance of correctly forecasting what is to come; and at the same time we shall incur less danger of being blinded by the glare and dust of controversy on passing events. It is a corrective used too seldom, to adjust the relations of such events to our minds, by viewing them as part

of a series ; to seek the future by comparing the present with the past. Much of the tumultuousness of our political writings might thus be subdued, while subjects which owing to near personal connection have obtained undue prominence, would be relegated to their proportional place and importance.

A salient fact early presents itself to the student of the History of British India. There appears at each interval of a quarter of a century or thereabouts, some important change, or crisis of development in the administration of the country. Taking the famous year of Plassy, 1757, as the starting point, we find in the creation of the Board of Control by Pitt's Bill of 1784, and still more in the Act passed four years later declaring the scope of that Bill, the first intimation of the national conviction that the affairs of India could not permanently remain under the control of a trading association. Nevertheless the narrowness of the age asserted itself. The most powerful minister England has ever seen had to bow before the storm of popular clamour and self-interested prejudice, and the renewal of the Charter in 1793 seemed to promise the continuance of the Company's all but unchecked management. Education of the people was not as yet considered a duty of the ruling power, while the benevolent labours of missionaries were vetoed as likely to produce disloyalty and revolt. This reaction produced its own Nemesis. The renewal of the Charter in 1813 destroyed the monopoly of Indian trade held by the Company, though the government of the country was inconsistently but, perhaps, considering the times, wisely continued in their hands. At the same time the illiberal restriction on the presence of missionaries was taken away, and the first vote was granted for education. The advance made characteristically showed itself most in the treatment of matters of trade : further movement became only a question of time. Accordingly, twenty years later, in 1833, the remaining monopoly of the trade to China was taken away, and the jurisdiction of the Crown indicated its aggressive influence by arranging for the legislation of the country. Further liberality was shown by permission to Europeans to hold land, and on the other side the immense step was taken of declaring that no native nor any natural-born English subject should be barred from holding Government office by reason of his religion, birth or colour. Such changes as these could not take place without influencing the views of the administrators who were to carry them out, and we find in the councils of the East India Company, after 1833, a new sense of the responsibility of Government, and an increased desire to discharge the trust of that Government in a worthy manner. Meanwhile, public opinion in England still moved on. In 1853, a kind of breathing

time was allowed to the moribund Company; a temporary compromise was made as to government, the head was left, the arms and hands were changed; the Directors still remained semi-independent, but their patronage was seriously crippled, and that representative of the march of modern ideas, the "Competition-wala," came into existence. The catastrophe of 1857 only hastened a further change which, by its striking character, has obtained for itself a more than proportionate importance. In 1858 the Crown assumed the direct Government of India, thereby affirming the principle of England's national responsibility. The other points in the Queen's proclamation flow from this principle, but the proclamation itself is no new departure; it is in reality the logical outcome of the policy of the Charter Act of 1833 as developed by time.

We take one step more, though it be into troubled waters. The assumption of the title of Empress of India by her Gracious Majesty the Queen, in 1877, was not the empty ceremony that hostile critics call it. If we compare it with other things in home politics, it will appear in its true character as an expression of that strong and noble feeling, held perhaps most definitely by the conservative party in England, that the mother-country and all its vast colonies and dependencies, form one empire, the integrity of which is essential for the credit, not to say renown, of the British name, and for the fulfilment of that destiny which seems marked out by Providence. In India we shall never do wisely to make little of the Kaisar-i-Hind anniversary. The name itself should indicate a rallying point, both to Europeans and natives, for all loyal aspirations for the good of the country. And if the ceremony of 1877 may be attributed to conservative influence, the Local Self-Government resolutions of Lord Ripon's Government in 1882, represent in a marked degree, and in an aggressive manner, the outcome of the advanced Liberalism which at the present moment is a prominent feature of home politics. They represent not unfairly the contribution of men, like the members of the Cobden Club, to the historical policy of England in dealing with India. In particulars they may be wrong; the adviser of Lord Ripon who obtained the abortive order for dignifying each member of a local body with an honourable title hitherto won only by high native officials after distinguished service should, if political work were governed by a utilitarian code, be punished by penal servitude. But such points as these drop off from the scheme when brought into practical action; the collective force of circumstances, an impersonal name for the beneficent direction of Providence, will shear away, quietly but decisively the crotchety and impractical excrescences foisted on to the broad principles of policy by minds which were misled by an

overweening self-confidence, or disregard of practical advice. The result will remain vital, and as I believe salutary. England has given a gauge of honour to India, and will, unless she turns false to all her glorious traditions of courage and freedom, redeem it well. Let India see that the hireling voices of a few unprincipled demagogues, as selfish as they are reckless, do not betray her to her own hurt, by sowing the seeds of mistrust and misunderstanding between the two races.

If, then, we can cut ourselves off from the acrid influences of momentary feeling and look back along the broad path of English administration in this country, we see in each successive generation substantial moral progress in the sense of national responsibility toward India. And if at times the current of opinion at home seems to show a bias which to better local knowledge is unaccountable, such prejudice must be attributed to want of knowledge, not want of conscience. I do not for one instant believe that the great mass of public opinion of England desires anything but the good of India. The best safeguard for Indian Government is not isolation from the influence of England, but increase of knowledge and intimacy of intercourse. As with individuals, so with nations; ignorance is the parent of mistrust; in India, at any rate, it is its main cause. I have been told emphatically, and delight to think it true, that natives, especially Hindus, are disposed to like Englishmen, and do so when they get to know them—they are often repelled from making advances by fear of their being unacceptable. In return for such testimony as this, it is pleasant and only fair to say that the longer experience one obtains in India, the more ready one becomes to recognise the many good points in native character, the more bound, by common sense, to attribute their special failings to faults of education and hereditary habit.

The growing sense of national responsibility has shown itself in various other ways beside that of modifying the framework of Government. The suppression of "Suttee," the series of attempts to put down infanticide, and the splendidly strenuous organisation of 1877 to mitigate the horrors of famine are all the outcome of a policy which in itself is a high moral teaching by emphatically enforcing the value of human life. We cannot always claim practical wisdom in all details of such measures, but the broad outlines stand out fair and clear for all men to note, and it is only determined perverseness that will ignore them.

The question of education brings us upon more debatable ground. We have already seen that it was in 1813 that money was spent first in teaching the people. Hardly anything could show more clearly how things have changed since then

than comparison of that first education vote, either one or two lakhs I believe, with the enormous amounts now annually spent. Such opinion, as still holds to the ignoble belief that the less education people have the better, has long ago shrunk from prominent public place; the question of the day is rather, how best shall Government discharge a duty which all authority now recognises to be of primary obligation. And in the form of solution which this question appears to be taking, we may, perhaps, trace a morality deeper even than that of the general fact of progress. In the anxiety lately manifested, which administrative reasons, as well as considerations of beneficence may well make supreme and unremittent, to lay a broad foundation of primary schooling, the thoughtful mind will see a sincere and large-hearted care for the good of the mass, for the welfare of even the humblest classes of the people which comes with it its own honour, and will, if persevered in, ensure practical success. When I think of beneficent popular education, it is not that of the University, or even that of the High School; it is in its essentials, the provision of the elements of thought for the daily humble life of the artisan, or the agriculturist; it is something which shall raise the "dull mechanic pacing to and fro" by a simple but decisive step, far above the brute life of the apathetic animals which, by their constant companionship, seem to drag down the human beings who tend them toward their own level. The three R's are no doubt treated now-a-days too much as a sovereign specific for poverty and its attendant evils, but without falling into this error, it is allowable to insist on the great difference between a peasant who can read, and one who cannot—on the still greater difference in the next generation if the sons are brought up in the respective ways of their fathers. You may say, if you please, that education unfits a peasant for the plough, and in some stages of popular progress in the cultivation of intellect this, no doubt, will be the case; but it cannot be too often urged that such conceit, or idleness, or perverseness as this shows can exist only so long as education, up to the level of the offender's acquirements, is rare. As soon as the general level rises, the *relative* superiority of the primary scholar, which turned his head before, will have been lost, and his position as regards his associates no longer enabling him to look down on them as illiterate and ill-informed, he will probably recover his mental balance. Nay, so far as experience has been obtained in other countries, this has been found actually the case. The fact is, that all gain in human life is preceded or accompanied by risk, often by temporary loss. The Horatian reflection on the history of Rome is true in a wider and deeper sense of the whole human race, whether regarded

collectively in the matter of social and moral progress, or individually as regards the inner and higher life of each man's soul :—

' Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus

' Nigræ feraci frondis in Alpido

' Per damna, per cades. ab ipso

' Ducit opes animumque ferro.'

Yes, "education" even in the simple and crude form of primary school training, means gain. Increased knowledge is gain and in itself is no evil. Yet it brings with it increased power of will, and an increase of scope in which the will may range. Under these new conditions, volitional power sorely needs the guidance of religion : and this is what is meant by the saying that there is no true education without religion. The question is well worth pondering ; whither are we leading the thousands of scholars of Government schools ? How are we guiding those quickening minds to which we are constantly presenting new ideas, new subjects of thought. Their old world—its cosmogony—its moral and religious system—is being metamorphosed. New light is thrown across the scene. The relations of all things in the mental world are disturbed, sometimes turned upside down. The students want some new centre, some new standard round which to rally, to re-arrange and systematise their ideas. And the experience of centuries shows that the only "steady and ever fixed mark" is religion. The moral government of the world, by a just and omnipotent creator, is the foundation of all human sanctions—the only foundation, as history shows, which can give reality and stability to the sanctions of society. Yet we, a nation professedly, and in many of our national actions really, Christian, carefully stifle anything in our scholastic system which might make men think of religion. With this moral aridity in Government schools, it is refreshing to turn to the thought of the noble and devoted labours of missionaries. Broad facts would be ignored, and the whole case thus very imperfectly stated, if conspicuous recognition were not given to these, when speaking of education in India. We Christians are often too modest, not indeed in making statements about ourselves, but about our religion. The missionary life itself, as I see it lived in numerous instances around me, is a moving testimony of England's highest sense of responsibility toward India ; of a heart-sympathy which no difficulties can daunt, no indifference shown by its objects, can render weak or cold. But reference at present is made rather to missionary work in schools. This has excited, and is increasingly exciting, influence over the minds of large numbers of scholars ; an influence gentle, refining, humanizing, even when it does not become so strong as to make the scholar turn Christian. This beneficial effect

very important to the administrator, is not to be limited to the number of Christians baptized as converts from Muhammadanism or Hinduism. Beyond this comparatively narrow circle, there is a wider one, filled with men whose hearts feel the beauty of Christian precept even when they do not receive the truth of Christian doctrine. Many, indeed, inwardly acknowledge that truth, but fear to openly profess it. The bonds of cast, of kindred, or of family, make the task too hard, and we who are great social cowards ourselves, should be the last to cast stones of reproach at them for it. But even this partial or timid reception of the truth does something for the mind; at the earliest approach of the "true dawn," "the ghosts and fays of superstition fly affrighted to their owlet holes," and the general tenor of life and conduct becomes purged of its grosser habits. Many can bear testimony, I feel sure, to the high average of respectability and morality shown by Mission School students. If from a misplaced fear of seeming to favour Christian proselytizing, Government curtail the funds hitherto given in aid to such institutions, the action will be an administrative blunder which will work unsuspected but real evil.

More than this, perhaps, it is not desirable to urge, in a paper of this kind, respecting the beneficial action of Christianity itself on native life and manners, but one point at least must be pressed home. If there is one thing more than another that can make English rule thoroughly acceptable to India, it will be the personal character of English administrators. Courage the people fear and respect, justice they admire, but their fullest and freest trust they reserve for the Englishman who consistently professes his religion, and consistently acts in its spirit. If a golden rosary were made of the names of our countrymen who have been loved most by natives, it would largely show those who have, in all their ways, acknowledged the God of Christendom, and have attempted to show before the masses of alien religionists the purity and charity of their Divine Master. I do not say, indeed, far from it, that there are not among the ranks of the administrative services, hardworking and conscientious men who gain the affection of natives who yet do not recognise the source of their virtue, and their intellectual strength. I know such men myself, and honour them for many things; my present point is that their want of confession of Christianity, still more their professed unbelief in its truth, creates a feeling of bewilderment in the naturally religious oriental mind. Something is wanting, "conspicuous by its absence," and the want mars the winningness of any influence such men possess. "Sir, he is very clever, but I do not say anything about his morality; he is an atheist" was the naive and spontaneous remark once offered upon a person of high academic attainments.

To return to the main subject. Much of what is said above as to administrative progress may be considered optimistic by critics of a certain kind who, following the distinguished example of the elder Mill, view deeds of Englishmen with severely hostile eyes. The charge is not admitted, but if it were true, the answer would be that such optimism, if it ruled our practice, goes far to secure its own realisation in fact ; meanwhile there are other matters which admit of no optimistic treatment, but which must be referred to, however briefly. The Indian service is said to be the purest administration in the world as regards its European members, and no doubt since the old days when English gentlemen did not think their hands soiled by bribe-money, there has been great improvement in respect of positive corruption by bribery. But even here is there not something wanting ? Are there not instances familiarly known to the members of the administrative services of men among them : [I speak of men of English birth.] who are generally known to be untrustworthy, who are commonly suspected of being corrupt ? Such things are not a secret, yet they seem very imperfectly known to the highest authorities ; if they are known, the case becomes worse. In such a matter it is not fairly necessary to secure judicial proof of particular overt acts. Like Cæsar's wife, a judge or a district officer should "be above suspicion." Wherever an official obtains a thoroughly bad name for venality, this fact of itself should be considered sufficient ground for calling on him to give a satisfactory explanation. Exceptional circumstances of personal unpopularity, or the infamous conspiracy of an offended clique, may now and then fix unjust suspicion on unfortunate and innocent individuals. But such mines are easily sprung. The partial character of the testimony will refute itself. Where, however, a candid and patient enquiry can show no reason, save, that of its truth, for such a consensus of opinion, the man should not be merely transferred, or warned, but should openly and at once be removed from the service on which he has brought dishonour.

A smaller point quite worth passing notice, on which improvement is still required, is the practice of receiving "dalis," or small presents, on occasion of visits from natives. Many of us have, I fancy, abjured such things entirely; and experience shows that the refusal, far from exciting resentment, may be accepted as evidencing a desire to see the visitor for his own sake. But in many parts, especially, perhaps, in outlying districts, the objectionable practice still prevails ; a thrifty housewife has been heard to express her satisfaction at getting sugar and oranges enough in Christmas "dalis" to make marmalade for all the year ! A trivial matter truly to us, but one of real

consequence often to the donors, who may be subordinate officials on small salaries. The thing is an anomaly and an anachronism, and should be wholly brushed away like an obnoxious cobweb.

Let us turn to a graver subject ; the alienation of mind and feeling which too often exists between European and native. There is no use in blinking the fact of such alienation ; it is better to look it full in the face, and without indulging in the extreme utterances of whimsical and irresponsible visitors, sorrowfully acknowledge that here we find one of the most important difficulties in the way of the future harmonious progress and development of India. It constitutes also a possible political danger of a serious kind. Let us attempt a brief analysis of some particulars. Faults are shown on both sides—in manners, for instance, our countrymen are too often chargeable with a want of consideration, and an offhand abruptness which are not unnaturally though mistakenly construed as intentional rudeness. If the native, on the other hand, is very complaisant and obsequious in manner, it is put down to servility, without any allowance for hereditary training and modes of thought. If both parties possess a real friendliness in desire, such matters must eventually improve. The one will gain affability and courtesy of demeanour, the other will learn a graver self-respect, and a more restrained use of compliment. Even now, indeed, do not all Englishmen who honestly try to make friends with natives have experience now and then, of a manner suave yet self-respectful, of a polished courtesy and behaviour which are really delightful. Yes, we find it oftener, I fear, than we show it? In this respect the balance of fault probably lies with us.

But there are deeper differences than faults of manner. In the dislike even contempt for colour which is such a frequent failing among Europeans, there is some justifiable reason mixed up with, and overgrown by, a mass of detestable sentiment. The reasonableness is this, that an uncertain amount of experience, which, however, is large, shows dark colour to exist along with certain evil or despicable qualities. Yet this experience is by no means so large as to form the foundation of a practical law, and reflection will supply several explanations of the observed facts other than the condemnatory conclusion above-mentioned. For instance, the actual darkness of skin may be caused by the sun ; in fact, there is no doubt that in Aryan races at least, it is. Centuries of exposure to a tropical sun are quite enough cause to explain the change of hue in the skin ; approximate confirmation of this is found in the difference of tint which prevails among natives of India themselves according to the degree of exposure to sun and.

weather, which is required by the life and occupation. Millions of Indians are not one whit darker than Italians, Spaniards, or Portuguese. So that the antipathy, if it is to be reasonably sustained, must base itself on the allegation that the climate and sun of India produce necessarily the faults and vices which are said to be characteristic of dark-skinned races. This is a quite different matter; the allegation cannot be consistently advanced by any one who believes in an overruling Providence at all, *i. e.*, by the enormous majority of Englishmen, for we cannot willingly believe that vice was meant to be a radical and inherent defect in human character. Climate, indeed, has influence on character, but that influence is very far from being certainly defined. The social phenomena of moral character are too intricate for us to say positively that any fault or vice in the natives of India is the result of the climate of their country. The qualities which are often found, and presumed always to be found, going along with dark blood, may well be the result of long centuries of evil or senseless custom; of want of education, coupled with enervating and debasing influences of a political kind. It may well be urged that if the vices of Indians are the result of blood or climate, their virtues should likewise be. One of the most conspicuous of these latter is the love of family, especially showing itself (I do not forget the exceptional phenomenon of infanticide for which special cause, not irreconcilable with this, can be found) in love of children. No one would admit that a cold climate makes an unloving parent, yet if the tropical climate of India produces special love of family, this converse would appear probable. The fact is, the affectionate devotion of the Hindu to his kinsmen is the result of certain family customs and laws, and this being so, it is only reasonable to attribute social and individual faults to similar causes. Until we can prove the negative of this, until we see all the prejudicial causes taken away without finding the evils complained of also taken away or materially lessened, it is illogical and unphilosophical, to say the least, to entertain bias on the subject. Granted that there is a wide-spread sentiment a kind of bull-dog feeling that says "you may preach till you are black in the face, but you won't convince me that a 'nigger' (note the word, it is a great *weapon*) is ever a true man." It is something to reach this, to force prejudice to repudiate reason, and entrench itself in the fortress of that much abused faculty—"common sense." The sentiment reduced to this extremity must gradually give way before the progress of larger-hearted thought.

The antipathy to colour, which is too frequent among Europeans (though always strongest among those who know natives least), has its vicious counterpart in the unintelligent

aversion felt by natives in respect of Europeans as belonging to a race of foreign conquerors. The feeling is unintelligent, because, though natural in origin, and even reasonable enough when certain aspects only of our rule are considered, it is unjustifiable in the face of the whole set of facts, and must be repudiated by any thoughtful man who wishes well to India. If India is to go forward, it must be under English rule and protection: the withdrawal of that rule would be the greatest calamity possible for the country. The great majority of intelligent natives adopt and admit this, and for the small minority who assert, or hint the contrary, Government should be ready, though not in a hurry, to use short and sharp discipline. The knowledge, indeed, that this is available, and meant for use, on occasion, would be enough to put matters right. At present sedition is here and there preached by a few pariah-like adventurers, who would disappear at once if authority showed its teeth. Anything like "gagging" the public press is of course to be deprecated, under any but exceptional circumstances. A mild but firm surveillance, however, is certainly wanted, in the interests of the increasing numbers who read the newspapers without knowledge enough to sift their unscrupulous fabrications, and irresponsible distortion of fact. Some of the native papers would require no notice, but there are others which hardly publish a number, without sowing broadcast seditious lies and insidious attacks on English policy and government.

When we turn to the English press, candour requires the admission that much of the writing therein is dictated by a spirit of ridicule and contempt for the natives, especially for those who show their admiration for us by attempting to adopt our language and customs. There are several reasons for this: none of them justifiable. The circulation of no Anglo-Indian journal can be very large; there is very little competition, and the circumstances of English society here, have a tendency to make the tone and drift of opinion fall into a somewhat narrow groove. Many of the readers again are military men, and officers in the army; at least, those of British regiments, are rarely disposed to view the native with favour. Then again the climate, which perhaps causes faults in Indians, certainly makes the Englishman, when he is not kept out of mischief by hard daily work, somewhat flabby in mind, and he requires amusement, which comes ready to hand in his daily newspaper in the shape of a story against "the Native." Some, perhaps most journals, adopt quite a different tone in speaking of a European from what, in dealing with similar facts, would be used about a native. There are other points, on which I should like to dwell, which seem to constitute difficulties

in the way of Indian progress on the social side. But these, though intimately connected with administration, must in the narrow limits of this paper, make way for two matters, both of the very highest importance, as principles of Government. I refer to the necessity of developing decentralisation to a much greater extent than has been attempted; and, secondly, to the increased employment of natives in the public service and in the general administration of the country. Either, fully treated, would be subject for a volume, but even a few brief words may do good by drawing attention to facts. As regards the evil of centralisation, it is difficult to write with patience. Ask any practical man, in almost any department of Government employ, what is the greatest obstacle to good and expeditious work; what is the benumbing paralysis which attacks men of energy and ability, and is at the same time the refuge of imbeciles and slugs, he will at once say—centralisation: “no body can do anything now-a-days except the head of a Province, and he only with the previous sanction of the Governor-General.” This, of course, is somewhat beyond the facts, but it fairly represents the despairing state of feeling which earnest men get into when experiencing the eternal check of reference and report, which precedes or accompanies, or follows upon, all official action now-a-days except the veriest trifles of daily routine. Year by year the incubus grows more crushing; individually, every sensible man sees its stifling and utterly pernicious influence; even in high places of authority, occasional anxieties arise about the minatory Frankenstein conjured up by the continued incubations of bureaucracy. But what is wanted is some official of sufficient determination and ability; some Titan of the Indian Council Chamber, or better still a Governor-General with all the power of the Empire at his back, who being fully possessed with the fact of this gigantic evil, shall make it his first purpose and work to stop, and roll back the advancing deluge of reports and memos, and figured statements, and all the other abominations of paper-government, until they sink back to their proper dimensions. Such a man would think himself blessed if he could do away with an annual report! Would, unless he had reduced a statement to smaller dimensions, grieve like Titus that he had lost a day. We hear a good deal of economy now-a-days, surely here is the primal and best lesson of economy—economy of time—, paper—, clerks—, labour—, *and lies!*

The modern Secretariat is largely responsible for this. Given a competitionwala of eight or ten years standing or less, [not more than this or the character of the mixture will be endangered], sprinkle his head with a smart decoction of Bentham and Mill, a pinch of Sir Henry Maine, and a soupçon or more

of Herbert Spencer ; stir him up with the long pole of ambition and self-complacency, and sweeten with a little conscience (to make his activity more acute), and the first requisite of the Secretariat is obtained. He has a ready pen, and can indite suggestive memos on any subject you please ; his practical knowledge is his weak point, but he is strong in quasi-scientific generalisations. It is obvious, that such a spirit as this must evoke writing from any one who can write. He will at an early stage of tenure of office point out to his appreciative Chief, the fact that no complete means of checking information received from below exists on such and such an important subject ; that the office files show that something was asked about it ten years ago, but the matter seems to have dropped out of notice. Whereon a circular will issue asking for cyclopædic reports bringing the history of all districts up to date. When these reports are received after much cudgelling the heads of good working subordinates, a neat monograph is prepared by the Under-Secretary, and this concentrated essence of unnecessary print, is returned to the reporting officer "for information and guidance." Centralisation is, if we might borrow Secretariat language, "an unhappy exhibition of the phenomenon of deficient altruism ;" in plain words, the egotism of governing authority is too great to allow of trust in its subordinates. Fancy John Nicholson's report now-a-days—"Sir, I have the honour to report that I have just shot a man who came to shoot me." No proper Secretariat could tolerate such brevity ; such very meagre information. In the first place, who was the man, what were his antecedents, how and when did he come, did he use a Colt's revolver, or a flint-lock, and a hundred other questions would of course be asked and have to be answered ! But the matter is past a joke, it is *the evil of evils in our administration*. The district officers, that is to say, the men who if they live among the people, with time to see to their wants, and power to do what they see to be necessary, are the *very backbone* and salvation of the Empire ; these officers are crushed with a lot of paper work, and reports which they must get through. No eye but One, knows how much right work is left undone, because of the demands of this work which is most of it wrong. The very fact that report has to be made of it, spoils many a piece of noble work by spoiling the mind of the doer. No man can always stand the thought that he has to "tell all about it ;" and with some men it is ruin. There is talk of a commission of enquiry into the question of reports and statements, but little good will come of any such proceedings until the higher powers of the country can be content to efface themselves somewhat ; to ask a little less what goes on beneath them ; to trust their

subordinates more. By such loss they will gain ; they will lose some details of statistical knowledge ; they will gain immensely by the *vis viva* they will thus impart to the actual bearers of the burden of executive administration. If once this wise trustfulness is developed, arrangement of details will be found easy. It were well worth a man's life to see such a golden age of government. That the tendency of Indian administration is not this way at present is one of those things which may well, amid many hopeful signs of moral progress, cause anxiety and doubt as to the future. It does not appear in any way a sufficient explanation to say, that as the civilisation of the Empire more nearly approaches that of England in its character, the more settled the various provinces become under our rule, the less necessity for dependence on local authority, the less objection to a strong central source of authority. This sounds specious : it is in reality unsound : the more the minds of the people wake up to mental life, the more necessity is there of strong personal local authority, to be used by the district officers as guides of popular opinion and sentiment. Otherwise we get two facts which even, separately considered, contain incidental elements of danger to the body politic. There is an increase of life and knowledge among the masses. This is well in itself, but in the comparative ignorance still remaining, such development calls imperatively for careful watching and guidance. There is also a diminution of power among the officers who are immediately in charge of the masses, the District Officers. This, in itself, is hardly a colourless fact, while combined with the other, it indicates a fatuity of policy which to a religious mind can hardly be accounted for, except on the theory "of quem deus vult perdere," &c., and if one can jest on such a bitter theme the irony might be noted of giving less trust to Europeans, at the same time that increased trust in every way is being exhibited toward natives. Such an inverted notion of true policy must in its development prove ruinous alike to ruler and subjects. This is the iron that is made to enter into the soul of every earnest Englishman as he goes on in his service—"the trust shorn in me is miserably small, the central ruling power grasps too much." High officials, like Commissioners, even Revenue Boards, are overruled, and checked, and dictated to in matters of comparative detail ; the Governor of the Province wants to be everything, circumference as well as centre of the administrative circle. Subordinates are required to have no wills of their own ; if they remonstrate on points which to every one outside the gubernatorial centre, palpable mistakes are being made, they are reminded that their responsibility consists in carrying out orders. The Civil Service is in some quarters, though happily not where opinion is of any considerable weight,

attacked as being disloyal and insubordinate. But the only truth in this is, that the controlling authorities have usurped more and more of the functions of the immediate executive, that at each usurpation, each tightening of the already too strained check and supervision, the humiliated officers ask the reason of the change, or respectfully point out its inexpediency. When any specially speculative change is in contemplation, opinions are indeed asked from selected officers, but the request is couched in such terms as to lead the referees to suppose that the principles of the measure are determined on, and that all required of them is to show ingenuity in suggesting executive details. The outside world has more than once been misled by such procedure, and capable and experienced officers have been made to appear responsible for opinions they entirely dissented from. Such disingenuous autocracy, however, may perhaps be treated as only a temporary characteristic of Indian administration. Whatever the general merits of the Government of Lord Ripon, patience of opposition, and candid consideration of objections, will probably, in the verdict of history, be not reckoned as conspicuous. In that of his successor—furnished with diplomatic experience of “many men, many minds”—we can confidently look for both.

The remaining subject is a more pleasant one: the share to be borne by natives themselves in the amelioration of Indian government will, as time goes on, become more and more important and hopeful. The wisest among them, however, feel that political reform, if such be necessary at all, can be really beneficial only if preceded by a series of domestic and social reforms, among which the relaxation of caste, the abolition of child-marriage, and the general adoption of monogamy, where it is not already practised, are the most practical, and at the same time most pressing. The emancipation of widows is intimately connected with these matters; Government has done its part here, and all that is wanted is that social thought and practice should become enlightened enough to free the millions of women concerned, from the life-long imprisonment of widowhood. And signs are not wanting that this healthy change is beginning to come into operation: all friends of India must long for its development. Before long, perhaps, it will become a question if Government should not step in and either forbid, or place restrictive conditions upon child-marriage, but, in order to justify this, public opinion must move on beyond its present inchoate stage. There is great room here for the practical energies of reformers, whose motto should be the social and intellectual enfranchisement of woman from that thralldom and ignorance which many centuries have put

upon her. If the status of women improves, many things now looked on as chimerical will become reasonably to be thought of, and in the end, actually feasible. Meanwhile such progress will find its counterpart in the larger share of the administration which, without any hasty and ill-advised precipitation, will come to natives. The principle and its seasonable development, it has been already noted, are derived from the Charter Act of 1833, and this fact should be remembered as we sometimes hear that the idea is a new-fangled hobby of some one or other modern ruler. This allegation will bear no historical scrutiny. Such development is the national policy, directed, as I believe by Providence, and bearing on the face of it, broad credentials of justice and righteousness. Adoption of the principle in no way or degree requires the abandonment of statesmanlike prudence. On the contrary, he who opposes it must clear himself from the charge of advocating a selfishly narrow-minded, and in the end, a disastrous policy. Speaking of such a policy in connection with an important administrative measure, one of the ablest men of India recently said (I am sure he would not consider the quotation a betrayal of confidence) "If we do not in these matters recognise the just demands of natives, we prepare for ourselves in India, another Ireland!" The words reach far forward into a terrible future, but such warnings are needed to make that future impossible.

The prejudice, for it is not fittingly called opinion, no doubt exists that a native never is, and never can be, trusted; that he should never be put in anything like an independent position; that he is disqualified by ineradicable tendencies of character for any administrative charge where integrity is imperatively necessary. And the concession must be made that at present most natives are untrustworthy, and are not trusted by natives themselves. But this is by no means giving up the whole case; there is still possible an amelioration of morals and motives, which it is our duty to foster in every way compatible with what has already been postulated as an end in itself, the stability of our rule. And experience shows that professional advancement is one of these ways: that there is a professional morality which, of itself, becomes a powerful spring of action; which even in our own country is perhaps as powerful over the mass of men as any. And even under the unfavourable circumstances of the past, there have been honourable exceptions of natives who are truthful and high principled. These are enough to prove the error of the noxious assertion which would place an eternal bar to the moral enlightenment of the millions of India. Yet the folly of the extreme opposite is also to be avoided, that of the doctrinaire Radicals

who basing their ideas on nothing but a distorted humanitarianism, can see no moral obliquity even at present, distinguishing the Indian from the European. These men are few, and do not often express their opinions broadly, but in one or two instances they occupy high position, and their influence is out of proportion to their numbers. In such persons the faculty of intuition as regards social relations seems wanting, or it is overshadowed by a set of theories evolved from their own mental consciousness. Considerations of fitting time, and place, and administrative expediency, weigh little with them as compared with the fancied dictates of equality and justice. They are in fact, under the present circumstances of India, a dangerous kind of social fireworks! From both of the extremes here noticed, I believe that the main body of English opinion will be kept, from the one by an honest sense of justice, from the other by common sense. Justice will not allow us, in the midst of progress, "*stare super antiquas vias*," common sense imperatively forbids us among a series of social and administrative changes which no one yet can see the end of, "*to wed raw haste crude sister of delay*."

There are doubtless some departments which are better adapted for employment of natives in their present intellectual phase than others. As a rule, judicial work will be better done than executive. But such executive departments as the Post-office, the Telegraph, and Forests, might be much more largely manned by them in the upper ranks than at present. In the first, perhaps the most successful branch of the executive, there is, I believe, already one Postmaster-General who is a native, and there might well be others, or at least natives at the head of the minor circles. And below this rank there are subordinate offices which Europeans fill at present, but which natives would work more cheaply, and perhaps more effectively. One of the present blots on the Post-office administration, *viz.*, extensive nepotism in patronage might thus be checked. In the other two departments there is some hindrance arising from the nature of the work which is partly scientific. But such science is really very limited; there is nothing that requires the brain work exhibited by a good native pleader or magistrate, nothing that could not easily be learnt. In such offices might be found employment for a considerable number of the better class of educated natives, men who reasonably want good pay, but would willingly escape from the special temptations of judicial employ. Yet we sorely need something for the members of noble families who have not brains enough to qualify for such employ, or do not care to undergo its grinding drudgery. Why should not such men, or the best of them, be given commissions in the army, not

merely to remain Ressaldar or Soubahdar Major, but to rise to full command of a Native Regiment? The number of such appointments need not be large, the qualifications might be made as rigorous socially, politically, and intellectually as prudence would dictate, but until some door, however narrow, is opened in this direction, an important link is wanting in the chain of confidence which we desire to put between the two races. Let it be essential that the candidate for such high military service shall go to England and pass through Sandhurst, or better still, let a military department be attached to such an institution as the Mayo College at Ajmir. I believe that the higher the qualifications required, the greater would be the attractiveness of the career, and we should have the pleasure of knowing that some of the finest blood in India was in our army, flowing in the veins of high-spirited gentlemen who would, we may be sure, reckon their distinguished allegiance to the Queen-Empress their proudest social distinction. If made with judicious selection and fitting knowledge, such appointments might be valued as much as the bombastic honour of a salute, and the personal distinction gained in actual war, in noble emulation of English commanders, would in itself furnish a strong link of loyalty to the British Throne.

The problems touched on in the brief limits of this paper are too complex for any one to treat exhaustively, but it has been possible, I trust, to indicate the spirit in which they should be approached. It is not that of the self-confident and dogmatic theorist, still less is it that of the arrogant and selfishly "insular" tone adopted in some quarters. No; let us recognize the noble solemnity of the work to which we English are put in India; we are not here to make fortunes; we are not here merely to exercise power. We have been sent with the destiny of an immense country in our hands: that destiny will take its shape from our characters and policy as governors. If we are narrow and selfish in that policy, we shall reap its fruit in due season; it may not be in our day, but worse, in that of our children. If, on the other hand, our aims are directed constantly to the good of India, if our progress is tempered with discretion, our power with sympathy, our beneficence with firmness of authority, we shall be carrying out the purposes of Providence with regard to India, and in such case success must be ours. A noble and solemn work truly. Among the shadows of the past, shine out the lights of great departed spirits. The genius of a Clive and Wellesley, the noble-hearted beneficence of a Bentinck and Canning, the devotion to duty of a Cornwallis and Lawrence, the glorious lives and more glorious deaths on Indian soil of hundreds of English

gentlemen, English heroes, all conspire to make us feel that in our continued action of the great drama, selfishness, or meanness, or indeed, anything but sustained desire to show wisdom and devotion and intrepidity like theirs, must be cast away as abominable. And, then, if in the future, near or distant, there looms a question of foreign policy which if developed must dwarf all others; if it is written in the arcana of history to come, that the British Empire must meet on the confines of India, a foreign and barbarous invader, the insensate enemy of liberty and refinement, we shall not fear the struggle. We may well believe that the peoples of India will recognise its true character: in the time of external conflict the troubles of petty domestic differences will be quieted, and the Empire will present a solidity of front which will defy intrigue, and a physical power resistless in its cause of moral right, which will hurl back the alien armies discomfited from their blind and brutal undertaking. The blood of Englishmen shed in common with that of Indians in such a war, would draw both peoples nearer to each other, and from such a gloomy interruption a brighter future would issue. Thus, alike in war and peace, our watch-words will be the same—justice—loyalty—order. Under such auspices may India ever move!

“COVENANTED.”

ART VI.—THE TURKS IN ALGIERS.

The Scourge of Christendom : Annals of British relations with Algiers prior to the French conquest. By Lieutenant Colonel R. L. Playfair, H. M. Consul-General at Algiers, author of "Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce;" "Hand-book to the Mediterranean;" "Hand-book to Algeria and Tunis, &c.: with Illustrations." London; Smith, Elder & Co., 15 Waterloo Place: 1884. (All rights reserved.)

THE City of Algiers, sometime the royall seat of the great king Juba, called of the Romans Julia Caesarea, "is in forme of a triangle, scituat fast by the sea towards the North, having a haven, but neither great, neither safe for the North Wind. The houses further off from the sea, stand in seemly order upon the rising of a steep hill, as it were upon degrees: in such sort, that the windows of one row still overlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the sea, most beautifull to behold."

The above is the description written in the beginning of the seventeenth century by the old English historian, Knolles, of "Ghazi Gazair" (warlike or heroic Algiers), as it was fondly called by the Turks; "the outpost of the Frontiers of Islam," whose garrison of hardy and merciless sea-rovers maintained for three centuries the sacred rights of true believers over the persons and property of infidels. For so long were the Algerines the common curse of sea-faring humanity, and the nightmare of the dwellers on the coasts of the seas frequented by their daring and vigilant corsairs, and their history has only been happily closed within the memory of living man, by their expulsion from the city which had so long been the chief market of their abominable trade, and the shambles of their human prey.

The history of Algiers is only one episode in the age-long struggle between the hostile creeds of Christianity and Islamism, in which the whole civilized world was divided into two hostile camps under the banners of the Cross and of the Crescent, and the lands of Western Asia and Eastern Europe were alternately the spoils of the victor of the day. The Mediterranean sea had long been a Christian lake, when in the seventh century its North African shores were suddenly flooded by the tide of Arab conquest, and the victorious Moslems passed over from Tangier and Tunis into Spain and Sicily, and colonised the coasts of Savoy and Apulia. A band of roving Arabs from Spain established a piratical State in

the Island of Crete, which was for centuries the curse of Christian commerce. Similar corsair communities maintained themselves in the Balearic Islands, and the Arabs of Africa were for long dominant in Mediterranean waters. But their power and prestige were shattered by the Norman rovers, and they were afterwards unable to cope with the growing naval strength of Genoa and Venice. The shores of Tunis, for long the most powerful of the Moorish kingdoms, were twice visited by a European armament during the wars of the Crusades. The Moslem pirates of Crete were extirpated with ferocious cruelty by the Greek Emperor Nicephorus, and the island reconquered to Christianity : while the Arabs were gradually driven from all their possessions on European soil. Not content with expelling them from their last foothold in Spain, Ferdinand the Catholic's victorious arms followed the flying Moors into Africa. Oran, Algiers, Bujeya, Tripoli fell successively before his armaments. Spanish garrisons occupied these and many other important points along the coast, and the Moorish kings hastened to swear allegiance and promise tribute to the conqueror of Granada to save themselves from sharing the fate of Abu Abdulla.* There was great talk of establishing a Christian empire in Mauritania under a prince of some European royal house. All of a sudden a new actor appeared on the scene and gave an entirely unexpected turn to the play.

It was in the beginning of the fourteenth century that the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, appeared on the eastern horizon of Asia Minor, which soon swept away with the force of its increasing torrents, the tottering fabric of the Eastern Roman Empire. In little less than a hundred years from the date of their first appearance, the Ottoman Turks had pushed their conquests in Asia and Europe as far as the present limits of their Empire. Unlike Timúr and his Tartars, the sea proved no obstacle to their adventurous spirit. The victor of Angora had gazed in vain across the narrow straits that separated his Asiatic conquests from European soil, and had been braved by Ottoman and Byzantine galleys rowing almost within bow-shot of his victorious squadrons. But the Osmanli, despite his shepherd ancestry, had no sooner extended his career of conquest to the shores of the *Ægean*, than he proved himself quite at home on the new element. He soon became as formidable to his foes on the deck of his war-galley as he had ever been upon the back of his war-horse. Bands of hardy Turkish adventurers issued from all the ports of Asia Minor carrying death and destruction through the islands

* Called by Christian writers "Boabdil," the last Musulman King of Andalus.

of the Archipelago. Making more advanced lodgments in these, they extended their operations to the shores of Greece and Italy. By the year 1,400, A. D., the terror of the Turkish corsairs had spread all through the Mediterranean. The Moorish Princes of the Barbary coast eagerly welcomed them as allies against the all-powerful Spaniards, and gave them succour and shelter in their harbours. After the capture of Constantinople and the conquest of Greece, the seas swarmed with these filibusters who made private war on all Christian nations under the Sultan's flag, and freely disposed of their booty and captives in all the ports of the Ottoman dominions, as well as in the harbours of the Moors in Africa. The Sultan, on his part, extended his favour and protection to the corsairs, sent them succour when they were menaced with the vengeance of the Christian powers, and promoted their most successful Captains to the dignities and titles of Begs and Pashas, often entrusting them with the command of his own fleets. These sea rovers, though they were at once stigmatised with the epithet of pirates by the European nations, were in their own estimation simply privateers, who made war for their own profit, as it were, under letters of marque from the Sultan : and at the time of the commencement of their enterprises, the Ottoman Porte did indeed avow itself in a state of continual and open hostility with the whole Christian world.

At the beginning of the reign of the great Sultan, Suliman the Magnificent, the principal settlement of the Corsairs was at Mehedia, a seaport on the coasts of the kingdom of Tunis. It was presided over by a captain called by the Christians "*Curtogalli*," probably, really, *Kurd-oghli*, the son of the Kurd.

The names of all the most famous of the Corsair Captains were household words of terror among the Christian peoples bordering on the Mediterranean ; strangely twisted, most of them, from their original Turkish or Arabic form and metamorphosed into a Latin-sounding appellation. Thus the Turkish *Baba Khurúj*, became to the Italians *Barbarossa*, and the two brothers who bore that dreaded nickname, *Khurúj*, and *Khyr-ud-Dín* were known as *Horuccins* and *Hariadenus*.

Kara Khojah (the Black Priest), the Corsair, who reconnoitered the Christian armada before Lepanto, in his eagerness to fight, gave such a report of it as lured the Turks to their own and his destruction, he himself perishing in the wreck of the lost battle, was known as *Caracoza* : *Torghúd Pasha* of Tripoli had his name twisted into *Dragut*, and *Point Dregate* at Malta still commemorates the scene of his "martyrdom : " while *Uluj Ali*, the Calabrian renegade, is written of as "*Occhiali*" by Italians, as "the old Arch-pyrat *Vluzales*" by

Knolles, and in the pages of Don Quixote figures as "Uchall, King of Argeir, a bold and fortunate Corsair." Many of these worthies were only known in Europe by nicknames bestowed on them by their victims: thus Sinan the renegade Jew, who died Admiral of Sultan Suliman's fleet in the Red Sea, was always spoken of as "Il Giudeo:" and another famous Corsair captain, one of Barbarossa's righthand men, was "Caccia-diavolo," called by English contemporaries "Drub-devil."

The brothers Barbarossa were the sons of a renegade Greek of the Island of Mitylene, and their exploits as successful pirates soon attracted such numbers of kindred spirits, that they were enabled to commence business on a large scale, establishing themselves at Jijeli, a port on the coast of Algeria. These Turkish filibusters possessed fire-arms, which were still unknown to the Moors and Arabs: and though we read of the first use of cannon in real warfare as occurring in a sea fight between the king of Tunis and the Moorish king of 'Ishbiliya" (Seville), it was Barbarossa's arquebusiers who first made the "hand-gun" known in Mauritania. The Moorish soldiery of that day are described by Knolles as "for the most part youths half-naked, with long haire not vnlike the Irish, using no other weapons but darts."

The Spaniards at that time occupied the two islets from which Algiers derives its name of Jazáir (according to the Maghrabi pronunciation Gazair). The Moorish king besought the aid of the Barbarossas against the Christians: it was readily given, and the elder Barbarossa finding himself in Algiers, treacherously surprised and slew his ally and made himself master of the city. He carried on war against the Spaniards by land and sea, but at last was in one of his expeditions against them overcome by superior numbers, and slain. His brother Khyr-ud-Dín had meantime by very similar means made himself master of Tunis, and he soon came from thence and took possession of Algiers also. He joined the two islands to each other and to the mainland by a mole, on the construction of which thirty thousand Christian slaves were employed for two years. He thus made a commodious and safe haven for his piratical fleet, in addition to the splendid harbour which he already possessed at Tunis with its entrance defended by the strong castle of the Goletta. He now commenced to carry on his piratical operations more methodically and on a larger scale, sending out strong fleets to sweep the Christian coasts, and dignifying his expeditions with the pretensions of regular war.

The whole commerce of the Mediterranean Sea came to a standstill, and watch-towers had to be erected within

signalling distance of each other all along the Spanish coasts to give notice of the approach of the corsairs. The Emperor Charles the Fifth, moved by the unanimous entreaties of his subjects, determined to chastise the pirates; and he assembled a splendid fleet and army for the purpose in Sicily. The best troops of Spain, Italy and Germany were picked for the expedition under his most famous captains. The Emperor himself commanded in person with Andrew Doria as Admiral under him. Barbarossa, on his side, assembled all the corsairs under their captains at Tunis, purposing to defend it to the last; but they had no chance against such a force as was brought against them; the flower of the steel-clad chivalry of Europe, the pick of the famous Spanish infantry, the heroic knights of St. John, the most skilful captains from all parts of Christendom. The Goletta was carried by storm; the corsair fleet in the harbour protected by it was burnt to the waters' edge; the Christian slaves in the city rose: and Barbarossa and his Turks fled by land to Bujeya where they had a few galleys, on which they escaped to Algiers. Drub-devil, among many others, perished of thirst and fatigue during their hurried flight.

A Spanish garrison was placed in the Goletta: the representative of the old Moorish dynasty received back his crown as a vassal of the Emperor; and the victorious Armada returned in triumph to the European shores with the spoils of Tunis, and with twenty thousand liberated captives.

Now that Tunis was lost, Algiers became the common resort of all the corsairs, and the chief market for their plunder. The temporary check to their operations only seemed to intensify their ardour, as if they were resolved to recoup themselves for their losses, and revenge themselves for their defeat: and five years later Charles was undertaking another expedition against Algiers, in the vain hope of finally extirpating the untiring tormentors of his people.

This expedition was on a scale more splendid than the previous one, and it was made at a time when Barbarossa and most of his confederate captains were absent, assisting the Imperial Ottoman fleet in the Adriatic. He had left, as his deputy in Algiers, a Majorcan renegade, now named Hasan, who had been in his youth captured and made a eunuch by him, and had since served him as a slave; and was now so trusted by the Corsair Chief, that he committed the government of Algiers into his charge during his own absence.

The Christian armament arriving before the city, which was garrisoned only by a handful of Turks, it was hardly supposed that they would attempt to defend it against so mighty a force: and the Emperor sent envoys ashore with proposals to

Hasan to surrender the place, and to seize this opportunity of revenging the wrongs of his captivity and cruel mutilation by his master Barbarossa. To him Hasan, in full Divan of his corsair captains and the officers of the Janissaries, "with a grinning countenance, made answer," that he would make proof to his master that he was well worthy of the trust reposed in him, and would make good the place against all the hosts of united Christendom.

The army landed, but before they could commence operations, one of the most fearful tempests ever known in those seas burst upon them. The fleet was scattered, and most of the vessels wrecked, the stores and munitions of war, all destroyed, the crews, who escaped to land, massacred by the Arabs, or enslaved by the Turks, and the Emperor was glad to crowd the famished troops into such ships as had weathered the fury of the storm, and return to Spain in a miserable plight.

Barbarossa was afterwards made High Admiral of the Turkish fleet, and under his command it dominated the whole Mediterranean. Every year at its head he plundered the coasts of Christendom. He several times appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. He landed in Italy on purpose to carry off Julia Gonzaga, renowned as the reigning beauty of the time, intending her for a present to his master Suliman; who, both in his wisdom and amorous complexion, resembled his ancient namesake. But the lady, on the first alarm, escaped on horse back in her night-dress, and Barbarossa had to content himself with a meaner prey. He lay long in the harbours of Marseilles and Toulon as an ally of the Most Christian King Francis the First against the German Emperor, and it is said that many fair women and sturdy peasants mysteriously disappeared during that time, and that some of the latter were recognised at the oars of the Turkish galleys. It would hardly have been safe, however, to go on board to identify them. From hardship and ill-usage, the galley-slaves continually died and were thrown overboard into the harbour, yet the Turkish captains contrived to keep their row-benches always fully manned.

Another time Barbarossa sold by auction, near Constantinople, sixteen thousand Italians and Greeks of both sexes and all ages, whom he had swept up in one cruise out of Corfu and the neighbouring coasts of the Venetian territories. In those days States arrogated to themselves dominion over the seas adjacent to their possessions, and all foreign ships were expected to lower their topsails and salute the flag which ruled over that sea. Barbarossa was lying off the coast of Epirus waiting to transport a Turkish army into Italy. Two of his galleys happening to pass the Venetian fleet near Corfu, omitted to pay the customary salute; on which the

Venetians chased them and forced them to run aground. To avenge this insult, Barbarossa, though Venice was then under truce with the Porte, attacked the Venetian coasts and committed the most frightful ravages, afterwards sailing for Constantinople with his ships and galleys packed so full of captives under hatches, that though numbers were thrown overboard dead, of suffocation and misery every day, yet sixteen thousand remained to be sold for the profit of the captors.

Barbarossa erected a mosque and a mausoleum at Beshiktash, near Istambul, where this pious and profitable act was performed, and was afterwards buried there, dying quietly in his bed after all his perils passed. He was a king among the corsairs, and a really skilful sea-commander. He was often victorious in naval battles over the Spanish and Italian fleets, and on one occasion defeated the great Doria himself.

After his death his mantle descended upon Torglıd or Dragut, a Turkborn, a corsair, of Kurd-oghli's old colony of Mehedia, commonly called by the Christians Dragut Rais (Captain Dragut). He had long made himself famous by the extent of his depredations along the coasts of Spain and Italy, while still only captain of a galley. On one of his excursions as he was returning through the Straits of Gibraltar, he was chased by a war-galley of the knights of Malta. The shades of night were falling and Dragut ran for the friendly shelter of the African coast. But a lucky shot from the cruiser's bow-chaser struck the corsair between wind and water, and she sank with every soul on board, the only man who escaped being Dragut, who saved himself by swimming ashore, a feat of strength and endurance which, in that age, could only be attributed to direct Satanic agency. These valiant Christian Ghazis of Malta were a continual thorn in the side of the corsairs and their most relentless and indefatigable foes. It was old Kurd-oghli and his brother captains who persuaded Sultan Suliman to employ the whole force of the Ottoman Empire in the expulsion of the "cursed crossed pirates of Rhodes," but the gallant defenders of the island received an equivalent for their loss from the Emperor Charles the Fifth in the possession of Malta and Tripoli. They were soon again upon the war-path, and wherever Turk and Christian met in fight, their eight-pointed cross was to be seen flying in the fore-front of the battle.

From Malta on the one side, and Tripoli on the other, they sorely grieved the Corsairs of Mehedia, and at last joining their force to the imperial fleet under young Doria, they came down on the colony and sacked and utterly destroyed it, and Dragut returned from a successful cruise to find his stronghold a heap of ruins. He went straightway off to Sultan Suliman at Constantinople to pray for succour and redress, and the

Sultân in the next year sent a great fleet, with many troops and artillery on board, under the command of Sinan Pasha (not the Jew, but another of the same name) to reinstate him in Mehedia. Sinan and Dragut together to be revenged of the accursed "Al Aspitar" (the Hospitallers) attacked them in Tripoli and won it, after a most heroic defence by the knights. Dragut then established his head-quarters in the conquered city, and was nominated Pasha of Tarábulús (Tripoli) by the Sultan.

He now assembled round him such a number of corsairs that, like Barbarossa, he used to put to sea at the head of a considerable fleet. The exploits of the Tripolitan corsairs soon eclipsed the fame even of the Algerines: and Dragut became such a notorious pest, that it was agreed that a great effort must be made to finally destroy his power of mischief. King Philip the Second of Spain sent a powerful armada under the Duke of Medina Celi to re-capture Tripoli. The Spaniards occupied the island of Jerba over against Tripoli and proceeded to fortify it, to make it serve as a base for their future operations: but Dragut, who had got early intelligence of the designs against him, had sent off in hot haste for help to Sultan Suliman, and a Turkish fleet was despatched from Constantinople under the command of the renegade Piali Pasha to his assistance. At Tripoli, Dragut and his men joined it, and the combined forces proceeded at once to Jerba, where they came on the Christians by surprise, their vessels at anchor and half manned, while the troops were employed on the fortifications ashore. The Turkish galleys dashed in among the Christian ships, pouring in their fire right and left, sinking some and boarding others; and the Christians, panic-struck, only thought of getting under weigh and escaping as best they might, leaving their comrades on shore to their fate. The latter made a long and gallant resistance in their unfinished fortifications, but were at last compelled to surrender at discretion.

Piali afterwards made a triumphal entry into the Golden Horn, his vessels decked with flags, and music playing, with the captured Christian galleys towing astern, their yards all across, their rigging slack, and their ensigns trailing in the water. Sultan Suliman soon afterwards sent him with a mighty fleet, carrying an army under the command of Mustafa Pasha, to make a final end of the Knights of Malta, and Dragut Pasha collected all the corsairs of Barbary to join in the siege of Valetta. When he arrived on the scene, the Turks were already hotly engaged in attacking the Castle of St. Elmo, but they made but little progress, as succours were constantly thrown into the place from Valetta across the harbour.

Dragut at once advised planting a battery on the point of land which still bears his name (Point Dregate) to command the approaches by water : and this measure soon brought about the fall of the castle. But while he was one day in the battery directing the gunners, he was struck on the head by a stone splinter thrown up by a cannon shot, and stunned ; and he was only aroused from his trance some days afterwards by the thunder of the guns which the Turks were firing as salvos on the fall of St. Elmo. On opening his eyes he asked, was the castle taken ? and being told it was, he piously thanked God and expired. His death was a sore blow to the besiegers, and the siege ended in disastrous failure, for the Turks, owing to the heroic defence of the Grand Master la Valette and his knights, "the brute whereof," says old Knolles, "then filled the whole world."

After Dragut's death, the leadership of the corsairs fell to Kilij Ali, the Pasha of Algiers. He was a Calabrian by birth, had been captured in his youth by the Turks, and had tugged for twenty years at the oar as a slave in the Sultan's galleys, and then apostatised in order to revenge himself on a Turk who had struck him without cause. His courage and skill in seamanship raised him to command, and he was captain of a galley under Barbarossa. The Turks had now become so powerful at sea, that when Sultan Selim, the drunken, attempted to wrest Cyprus from the Venetians, all the Christian powers of the Mediterranean joined in a league against them : but they could not prevent Nicosia and Famagousta falling before the overwhelming hosts of the Musalman. The infamous violation of the capitulation of the latter place when the brave Venetian Commander Bragadino was flayed alive by Mustafa Pasha, can hardly be paralleled for treachery and atrocity even in Turkish annals. The skilful Piali was disgraced by Sultan Selim for not having given battle to the Christian fleet, and was superseded by the rash young Ali Pasha, who attacked the confederate fleets in the Gulf of Lepanto. The Barbary corsairs on that famous and fatal day formed the left wing of the Ottoman fleet under the command of Kilij Ali. "The Turkes," says Knolles, "came on gallantly "with their battell set orderly after their manner in the forme "of a Croisant, their fortunate ensign." Kilij Ali manœuvred to outflank the Christian right, and when they extended their line to meet him, he skilfully changed his tactics, pierced their line, and cut off the Genoese and Maltese who were stationed on the right, from the rest of their fleet. Kilij Ali himself carried the admiral's galley of Malta by boarding, and hauled down the grand standard of the order. Never had the corsairs fought so fiercely and so fortunately ; but the

total defeat of the centre and left brought the victorious Spaniards and Venetians down upon them, and Kilij Ali had to cut all his prizes adrift, and trust for safety to the speed of his galleys. When the flag-galley of Malta was retaken by the Christians, its decks were found loaded with three hundred corpses, attesting the desperate character of its defence; but the Algerine carried off the captured standard as a present to the Sultan, who in recompense gave him the title of Kilij Ali (Ali of the Sword), and made him High Admiral of the Turkish fleet in the place of his namesake who was slain in the lost battle. At Lepanto no fewer than "fifteen thousand Christian slaves, who had been chained to the Turkish oars, that day recovered their long-wished-for liberty." But the chief result of the battle was the total destruction of the naval prestige of the Ottomans, completely removing, says Cervantes, "that grievous error which the Christian nations had so long laboured under, in believing the Turk invincible by sea."

Kilij Ali would not again give battle to the confederates: but when this league was dissolved by the jealousies of the Venetians and Spaniards, and their combined fleets no longer kept the seas, he recovered Tunis for the Ottoman Empire. That city being dominated by the Spaniards, who had a garrison in the strong fortress of the Goletta, afforded a secure refuge for "the crossed warriors of Malta" and other Christian cruisers in their enterprises on the Barbary coast: "for which cause," says Knolles, "the Turkes, especially these pyrats (of whom the Turke makes great account, as not his least strength at sea) wonderfully desired to have these strong places gotten out of the Christian's hands." Accordingly they besieged Tunis by land and sea, Sinan Pasha commanding the land army, wherein were seventy thousand regularly paid Turkish soldiers, with an immense train of artillery; and the place soon falling, the Spanish garrison were made slaves, the old Moorish dynasty finally extinguished, and a Turkish Pasha appointed to govern the country with the aid of a strong force of Janissaries.

The final conquest of Tunis by the Turks closed the epoch of Ottoman conquest in Africa. The whole coast of Barbary, from the confines of Egypt to the boundaries of Morocco, now owned the sway of the Sultan, and was divided into the three Pashaliks of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. The corsairs had extended their settlements still further to the westward, for some of them had established themselves in the Mediterranean ports of the Moorish Empire of Morocco, and at Sallee on the coasts of the Atlantic. From thence they cruised against the Spanish and Portuguese shores and shipping, under the flag of Morocco, and paid dues on all the booty and slaves

taken to the Moorish monarch. The Sallee rovers especially were formidable to Christian commerce, and were almost as much hated and dreaded as the Algerines. Oran and Mazarquivir (Marsa-al-Kebir) were the only two ports in Barbary that remained in the hands of the Spaniards, both of them on the coast of Algeria.

The Turks settled in the three chief pirate cities mustered only a few thousands, all of them corsairs or janissaries; the latter having been sent as garrisons by the Sultans at various times during the wars: but they easily dominated the whole country and kept all the Moorish, Jewish and Arab population in a state of abject submission. With all the brutality and stupidity of the Turk, there is something wonderfully masterful in his character; he always domineers over any other race with whom he may be brought into contact, and rarely is his supremacy questioned. In the Musalman world, there is hardly a sovereign or a ruling class to be met with not of Turkish blood or descent. In Tunis and in Egypt the rulers are of Ottoman race: the Shah of Persia is a Kizibash Turk of the Kajar tribe, and though Persian is his court-language, Turkish is his mother-tongue. The Khans of Central Asia are Turks of the Uzbek tribe. Hated though the Turk may be, he is feared as well, and like the Englishman in India, his government is more acceptable to the mixed races over whom he rules than would be that of a less alien master. A European traveller in Irak, condoling with the Arabs on the oppressive Turkish administration, asked them what they would do if the Turks were driven out of Baghdad? An old Arab Sheikh replied—"We would put up a Turk's cap upon a pole and do 'homage to it: for nothing else would suffice to keep the 'peace in this country.'" With half the energy and unanimity which the Arabs of Algeria displayed in combating the French, they might have driven the Turks out of the country at any time during the three hundred years that they occupied it: but though they hated the Turks individually, they never thought of revolting against their feeble and tyrannical rule.

But hardly had the Sultan become undisputed master of Barbary, when it slipped altogether from the grasp of his power. When the Porte concluded treaties of peace with the European nations, the corsairs found themselves in a dilemma: they must either respect the engagements of their master the Sultan, and so forego all the profit derived from their calling, or they must defy his authority, and plunder his friends, and they chose the latter course. When the Sultan sent them firmans to abstain from attacking the vessels of the English, the Dutch, the Venetians and others who were at peace with him, they replied that they were ready to obey his orders in all

other things, but that they considered themselves the forlorn hope of the armies of Islam and the vanguard of the Holy War: and to abstain from making war upon infidels was equal to an abnegation of their religion.

The Sultan, at the instance of the foreign ambassadors, sent repeated mandates to them to observe his treaties; but the Pashas whom he entrusted with the enforcement of his orders themselves disobeyed them: and in the end, he contented himself by assuring his European friends, "that their ships "come not in danger of breach of league if they should shoot "at the galleys of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli." With which small comfort they had to be contented, and the corsairs continuing their system of private war, otherwise piracy, troubled themselves little more about their relations with the Ottoman Empire. The janissaries and corsairs elected a Chief from among themselves, to whom they gave the title of Dey.* This officer became the real ruler, while the Pasha sent or nominated by the Porte was allowed only the shadow of power. Knolles, writing of the murder of Ramadan Pasha at Tripoli in the year 1584, and the assumption of the government by the mutinous janissaries, says, "At which their "insolency if Amurath (the Sultan) did winke, and passe "it over unpunished, let no man marvel; for why, the ancient "obedience of these martial men is not now as it was in former "times, when they were with a more severe discipline governed: "but now grown proud and insolent (as is the manner of men "living in perpetual pay) with the weapons in their hands, "doubt not to do whatsoever seemeth unto themselves best, be "it never so foule or unreasonable."

The Porte continued to go through the farce of sending a Pasha to Algiers until the commencement of the eighteenth century, after which the office was discontinued, and the Dey took to himself the title of Pasha. The chief magistracy of Algiers continued to the last to be nominally elective, the dignity being really the prize of the boldest and most unscrupulous ruffian amongst the ruffianly crew who formed the governing class. In Tunis a revolution threw the power into the hands of a Beg, who was the Dey's Secretary and Treasurer: and he made the office hereditary in his own family. In Tripoli also, the government became hereditary in the descendants of one of the Pashas, and the style of Pasha was assumed by its independent rulers. Algiers always maintained the first place, which she had succeeded to after the

* Dey: probably *Dâ'i*, a Turkish word signifying maternal uncle; the janissary mutineers in Servia, in 1800, gave the same title to their elected leaders. Ranke spells the word *Dalı*.

capture of Tunis by Charles the Fifth, among the Barbary• regencies ; and in the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in the reign of Philip the Third, most of them took refuge in Algiers, where their numbers and their skill in the arts of civilization added greatly to the resources of the State.

The government of Algiers was probably the most odious that has ever existed in any age or country. It has been called a military republic, and was doubtless a popular government in the Turkish or Musalman acceptation of the term, and as such, may be commended to the study of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt. It was in truth a military oligarchy, founded on distinctions of race, and combining all the disorders of mob rule with the arbitrary tyranny of Oriental despotism. Its revenues were derived from the plunder of merchantmen and the ransom of slaves. Its public works were undertaken, and all the menial labour of the State performed by the forced service of Christian captives. The whole power of the executive was lodged in the Dey, who was assisted by the *Khasdnaji* or treasurer by the Kadi or magistrate, and the Mufti or jurist. The Dey was responsible to the Divan or Council of State, which consisted of the Agha or General, and thirty colonels of the janissaries. On extraordinary occasions the whole body of the Turkish soldiery was assembled to decide on momentous questions, such as that of peace or war with any of the great European Powers.

The Turks in Algiers at first numbered above twelve thousand men. But after they were finally established in the country, and no more reinforcements of troops came from Istambul or Ismir (Smyrna), their numbers greatly declined ; and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, there were in Algeria not more than seven thousand of Turks and Kul-oghliis together. The latter were the sons of the Turks by Moorish and captive European women : for there were no Turkish women in Algiers, except, perhaps, in the harem of the Pasha or a few of the wealthier inhabitants : and the soldiery purchased their help-mates, or took them as shares of their prizes. These Kul-oghliis (slave-children) were remarkable for their spirit and intelligence, and were jealously watched by the Turks, who would not allow them to rise to any high office in the State : but they were allowed to carry arms, and served as soldiers. The European renegades, of whom there were a great number always in Algiers, were admitted to an entire equality with the Turks. These were men who were led to apostatise to escape the hardships of slavery : and it would appear that they generally became staunch defenders of their new faith. Many of the most famous Corsair captains were renegades. Cervantes says that these men used to obtain

•favourable certificates from the Christian captives in Algiers, so that when taken by a European man-of-war, they might pretend that they had always been wishing to return back into Christendom, and so they would escape the clutches of the Inquisition : then they would take the first opportunity to get away again into Barbary, there to resume their wicked manner of life.

The Algerine pirate fleet at first consisted entirely of galleys, which were gradually replaced by "tall ships" as the improvements in ship-building made the latter fleetier and more manageable. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Algerines had a fleet of seventy sail, but after their chastisement by the armaments of Louis the Fourteenth, their naval power decreased considerably. When Dr Shaw, the Chaplain to the British Consulate at Algiers, wrote his minute description of the Regency in 1729, the piratical fleet consisted of only fifteen vessels, the largest of which carried seventy guns, while five others carried from forty to fifty guns. There were only two galleys in use then, both of which, with the largest ship, belonged to the State : the rest were private property. There were a great number of smaller craft which only put to sea in the summer, and were principally of use for cruising along the Christian coasts, picking up fisher-boats, and landing at lonely spots to kidnap women and children. The south coasts of Spain were continually thus harried by the corsairs of Tetuan, who used to set sail at sunset, take their breakfast on the Spanish coast, and return again under cover of the night into Africa.

The place of merchants in civilised communities were supplied by the "armadores," purveyors, who fitted out and armed the corsairs, and shipped the crews, who were always volunteers, receiving in return a commission on the value of the prizes, which often amounted to as much as one-half. One-eighth part of the cargo, and every eighth person out of the passengers and crew of a vessel taken by an Algerine privateer, was the share of the State : the remainder was divided in fixed proportions between the owner, the armadore and the captors : even the Christian slaves employed on board received their share.

Their vessels were crowded with men, for they made but short cruises, and trusted to capturing a ship, defended against them, by boarding in overwhelming numbers : they had also to furnish prize-crews to the vessels taken. About one-fifth of the crew were usually Turks : the rest Moors, Arabs and negroes. In the galleys the oars were pulled by Christian slaves, five to each oar. All these latter craft were double-banked, from ten to twenty oars aside. A narrow gangway ran along the centre of the galley between the row-benches on each side, up and down, which the Algerine task-masters walked armed with whips to keep the oarsmen to their work. When the corsair was

chasing or being chased, the labour was terribly severe, and it was more dreaded by the slaves than any other. Abul Fazl, the Vazir of the Emperor Akbar, alludes to the condition of the "halya Kashan-i-Farang"—the galley slaves of the Europeans, as the most debasing and harassing form of servitude. His reference was to the galleys used by the Portuguese of Goa on the west coast of India. All Musalman captives, taken by European nations in war, in those days, were sent to the galleys. As a general rule, the fifth slave at every sweep in the French and Spanish galleys, was a Turk or a Moor. The Turks were also chosen to row the stroke oars of the galley. When mass was said on board, they were unchained and put into the long-boat, where they talked and laughed, smoked and blasphemed as they liked, till the ceremony was concluded. Malta, which was indeed a kind of Christian Algiers, was full of Muhammedan slaves. The Knights of St. John lay in wait for the treasure ships of Egypt, plundered Turkish merchantmen, and ransacked the coasts of the Levant for slaves and booty. These things were then part of the custom of war, which sanctioned the practices of plunder, of holding captives of war to ransom, and putting them to hard labour. Sir Charles Napier, when in Portugal during the Peninsular war, expressed his commiseration for the Algerines working in the dockyard at Lisbon in chains. "These men," he writes, "are slaves to worse men than themselves; for an Algerine privateer will always beat a Portuguese Frigate." The Barbary corsairs were within their rights in the seventeenth century in spoiling and enslaving men of the nation with whom they professed to be at war: but they continued these practices long after they had been abandoned by everybody else, and were condemned by the unanimous consent of the civilized world. It is a remarkable fact, that though great numbers of the Christians taken by the corsairs apostatised to regain their liberty, there was hardly a single instance of a Musalman in similar circumstances abandoning his religion. The solitary case that we have heard of is that of Ali Bey, the Turkish captain, taken prisoner by the Portuguese at Zanzibar.

It might be thought that the corsairs ran great risks in employing Christians to row their galleys: but, in fact, the difficulty of combination among the slaves was great, owing to their differences of race and language, and the instant terror of their tyrant's brutality banished every other more remote consideration. But it did sometimes happen that the galley slaves made a desperate bid for freedom, as when the galley of the son of the famous corsair, Barbarossa, was chased by the "Sea-wolf" of Naples, when the Christian confederates were cruising against Kilij Ali's fleet, in the year after the battle of Lepanto.

This son of Barbarossa was a most savage corsair captain,

and used his galley slaves with barbarous cruelty : and Cervantes relates how, when his vessel was chased by the hostile galley, as he was standing upon the stantrel, encouraging his slaves to row lustily, those nearest to him caught him by his dress and pulled him down among the row-benches, where they tossed him from one bench to another, striking him with their fists and the links of their fetters," so that before ever his body had passed the mainmast, his soul had passed into hell." The galley slaves were, however, only a small proportion of the Christian slaves in Algiers. Colonel Playfair writes :—

"Everything connected with the subject of Christian slavery in the Barbary States is of the deepest interest. When that institution was at its height, there were from 20,000 to 30,000 captives, at a time, in Algiers alone, representing every nation in Europe and every rank in society, from the viceroy to the common sailor, men of the highest eminence in the church, literature, science and arms, delicately nurtured ladies and little children, doomed to spend their lives in infamy. The majority never returned to their native land, and comparatively few have left us a detailed account of their sufferings, or a record of the dramatic events passing every day around them."

When a prize was brought in, all the captives were examined at the Dey's palace, and forced to declare their rank and profession truly, under penalty of the bastinado. All the European consuls attended to look after the interests of any of their own countrymen who might be among the captives. If a passenger on the vessel taken, belonged to a nation at peace with Algiers, he was on the request of his consul set at liberty : but all men serving for pay were made slaves, of whatever nation they belonged to. Thus, an Englishman who was sailor or steward on a Spanish prize would be enslaved, and the King of England could not procure his release without paying his ransom. The captives were then put up in the public market place to auction, where they were run up and down, examined, and their qualities and points of excellence cried up by the auctioneer till no higher bid could be obtained. They were then taken back to the Dey's palace whither the intending purchasers followed them, and here the real sale took place ; the captives were put up again to auction one by one, knocked down, and delivered over at once to their purchasers.

The difference of price between the first and second sales was taken by the Government : only the amount of the bid at the first sale was divided among the captors. Before the first sale the Dey had taken the eighth part of the captives at his own pick and choice, and these were at once sent off to the slave prisons, or barracoons, which were three vast ranges of buildings, where the government slaves were lodged.

These public slaves always wore an iron ring round their ankle, when they were not actually in chains. The baracoons, or bagnos, as they were called in the *lingua franca*, were divided into small rooms, in each of which from fifteen to twenty slaves were kept. They lived on the bare ground, and received three loaves of black bread daily for their subsistence, and nothing else. They had to work from early morning till late at night except on Fridays, when they had a whole holiday. Some of them quarried stone, others drew it in carts, others were employed in the repair and renewal of the public buildings and fortifications; others in the bakeries, where the bread was baked for the rations of the janissaries or of the slaves. The slaves of private persons were seldom so hard worked, but they were very little better off. All the menial work in the houses of Musal mans was performed by them, and by European women in the harems. The richer or better bred the captives were, the worse they were used in order to accelerate their ransom; for the receipt of ransom was generally much more profitable to the owner than the labour of his chattel. Some of the "Padrones," or slave-masters were kind and humane, but most of them freely vented their spite and cruelty on their unfortunate victims. The mild conditions of ordinary Musalman domestic slavery were totally absent here, simply because the victims were Christians, towards whom cruelty was not only lawful but meritorious: many of the renegados were more cruel than the Turks themselves, taking advantage of their position to gratify their personal and national antipathies, at the expense of those whose steadfast continuance in their faith was a perpetual reproach to them. Hasan Pasha, who succeeded on the death of his patron Kilij Ali to the government of Algiers was, says Cervantes, the most cruel renegado ever known: and not a day passed but some unfortunate Christian slave was impaled, crucified or flayed by his orders, or otherwise horribly tortured to death: so that even the Turks cried out upon his cruelty. But these Algerine Ottomans themselves displayed on many occasions a fiendish cruelty which was not a national characteristic, but which must have been bred in them by the temptation and opportunity afforded for its exercise through their horrible system. They inflicted revolting tortures on criminals even of their own country and religion. Suspending the wretch on sharp hooks till life was extinct; breaking the arms and legs with a blacksmith's hammer on an anvil; and bastinadoing till the feet fell off, were among the punishments legally inflicted.

If a Christian slave dared even to strike a Turk or a Moor, he was subjected to the most cruel tortures. Colonel Playfair relates the case of a young Christian who killed his Turkish

master under provocation so gross as to fully justify the act. He was ordered out for execution, and the crowd of spectators, as if they had been Red Indians, all took a hand in tormenting him to the utmost of their power: he was finally crucified alive, a red-hot iron thrust through both his cheeks, and then he was scorched to death with fire-brands. Pages might be filled with the account of similar atrocities, and petty cruelties were practised daily on the domestic slaves without attracting notice or record. Mr. Shaler, the United States Consul at Algiers, in a report to his Government made in 1815, observes that "the horrors of the negro slave-trade are tender mercies when compared with the sufferings which are inflicted upon the inhabitants of Spain and Italy by these detestable barbarians."

As the slaves were of all nationalities, and their Turkish masters could speak no language but their own, there sprung up among the captors and the captives a jargon in which they communicated with each other, something similar to the Pigeon English in use in the Chinese trading settlements to-day. This was called the *Lingua Franca*, and (the great majority of the slaves being of Latin race,) it was based on the mixture of the Latin languages with Turkish and Arabic. It gradually fell into disuse after the occupation of the country by the French, though it may still be occasionally heard used as a medium of communication between sailors of different nationalities in the Mediterranean ports.

The Turks could seldom speak even this jargon with any fluency: nor Arabic either. Few of them could read or write their own language, and they prided themselves on their brutish ignorance, boasting that they were men of the sword, or nothing. They were all of them men originally of the lowest class, recruited from the scum of the population in the sea-port towns of Asia Minor; for when the numbers of the Turks in Algiers was getting low, the Dey used to send his ships to Smyrna to enlist recruits: Dr. Shaw says that he saw one of these batches of recruits arrive in Algiers, and a greater set of ragamuffins and tatterdemalions he never saw. But after a little polishing at Algiers, after they had got caps to their heads and shoes to their feet, and a pair of large knives to their girdle, they quickly learned to carry themselves as monarchs of all they surveyed, and to treat all Moors, Jews and Europeans as dirt beneath their feet. For administrative and revenue purposes Algeria, under the Turks, was divided into four provinces: one round the capital which was under the immediate control of the Dey: the others were Oran, Titterie and Constantina, each governed by a Bey with a small retinue of Turks. The Turkish garrisons in these provincial towns were relieved from Algiers once every year, and every year also there

was a flying camp of a thousand men formed in each district to collect the revenue. The amount thus realised did not nearly suffice to meet the State expenses, for all the Turkish soldiery received regular pay, and rations besides: but the chief resources of the Treasury were derived from the sale and ransom of the captives, the proceeds of the plunder taken by the State cruisers, and the dues paid on their profits by the privateers. The Moors and Arabs in the interior did much as they liked, and outside the towns were not interfered with as long as they paid the expected sums into the Treasury: and the Bedouin tribes were kept in subjection through their own rivalries, the Beys never having any difficulty in setting the other tribes on to attack a recalcitrant one. The Arabs hated the Turks, and a single Turk, or a small party of them, hardly dared venture outside the town walls anywhere: while they on their part despised the natives, one Turk, says Doctor Shaw, valuing himself as a match for twenty Arabs.

After the Algerines had virtually severed their connection with the Ottoman Empire by their refusal to recognise the treaties concluded by the Sublime Porte, and their election of a Dey to rule them, they took no further part in the maritime wars waged by the Sultan. The battle of Lepanto had ruined the naval prestige and power of the Osmanlis, and the Turkish Imperial fleets no longer swept the Mediterranean and the Adriatic: on the contrary, the Levant was infested by the cruisers of the Maltese knights, of the Genoese, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. When the Sultan asked the Algerines to afford him some assistance in his naval wars, they declined with various specious excuses, but their real reason was that their zeal for the true faith and the Holy War had been quenched in the lust of plunder and the pleasures of prey which they derived from their profitable pursuit of promiscuous piracy. Their cruising vessels, built for speed and not for strength, overhauled every merchantman they met in the narrow seas, but they carefully avoided a trial of strength with a Christian man-of-war. They no longer attacked the enemy's forts and arsenals, but their galleys visited the unprotected parts of his coasts, sacking hamlets, burning churches, and carrying off peasants and fisher people into slavery. Lady Fanshawe, in her narrative of her exile with her husband after the overthrow of the Royal cause, says—"After we had passed the straits we saw coming towards us a Turkish galley, well manned, and we expected we should be all carried away as slaves, for, this beast,* the Captain had so laden his ship with goods for

* Lady Fanshawe was a passenger in a Dutch merchantman, the Captain of which was, she writes, "a Dutchman, which is enough to say, but truly, I think, the greatest beast I ever saw of his kind!"

"Spain, that his guns were useless. However, he called for brandy, and when he had well drunken, he and all that were with him, he gave them arms and bade them defend themselves, resolving to fight rather than lose his ship, which was worth thirty thousand pounds."

All the women on board were made to go below and locked up in the cabin, "for, if they saw only men, the Turks might take us for a man-of-war; but if they saw women, they would take us for a merchant and board us." She goes on to say—"By this time the two vessels were in parley, and so well satisfied with speech and sight of each other's forces, that the Turk's man-of-war tacked about, and we continued our course."

Less fortunate than this beastly Dutch skipper was his fellow-captain whose richly-laden tall ship, bound for the East, was attacked by Murad Reis with his pirate fleet of fifteen galleys. These sea-wasps would not venture to attempt a large ship in a breeze when she could wear and bring her broadside to bear, but they would venture upon her in a calm, working at her fore and aft, and raking her with their bow-chasers, while they kept carefully out of the way of her broadside batteries. The Dutchmen defended their ship desperately; her sides were as a steep as a wall, and for long, the attempts of the Turks to board were vain: but after several hours' hard fighting they mastered her decks and drove the Dutchmen below, where they still defended themselves with the courage of desperation. The Dutch Captain seeing all lost, and the hatches crowded with Turks, determined to make them pay dearly for their victory: so threw fire into the magazine and blew up the ship with all on board, an immense number of the victorious Musalmans perishing with her, while several of their galleys which had been grappled to her were so damaged, that they could hardly be kept afloat, and most of them were more or less injured: and while the shattered squadron was on its way to Algiers to refit, it was by ill luck espied by the Florentine galleys of Cosmo de Medicis, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which gave chase and several of the pirate vessels were captured, others had to run ashore to escape being taken, and the whole fleet was scattered. This Duke Cosmo was a sworn foe to the corsairs and continually harassed them with his fleet of well appointed galleys from Leghorn. He also visited the coasts of Barbary, serving the Turks and Moors as they served the Christians, carrying off men and women into slavery. In one of these excursions a rich Turk's country villa was plundered, and his daughter, a girl of great beauty, carried off. It happened at the time that three monks had come to Algiers with funds to ransom Christian captives,

and had already ransomed one hundred and thirty : but when the news of the capture of a Turkish woman was brought to Algiers, the Dey ordered the ransomed slaves back to their chains, and in addition, seized the three monks and sent them to the valleys till the girl should be returned : and the Turks offered large ransom for her too, but her captor, a Genoese captain, had become enamoured of her and would not give her up : so the unfortunate monks and the slaves whose ransom had been actually paid, remained in hopeless captivity. About this time there was some talk of exchange of prisoners of war between the Christians and the Turks, and the question of its legality was referred by the latter to the Ulama at Constantinople : some of these were for, some against it ; but the opinion of the majority was that an equal exchange was not lawful ; but that it might be permissible to release one, or a few Christians, if the liberty of many Musalmans could be obtained thereby.

Murad Reis was the last of the great corsair captains, who carried on piratical war at the head of whole fleets, and who maintained the connection between the Ottoman Empire and the Turks in Barbary. His vessels were welcome in every Moslem harbour, from Smyrna to Sallee. He showed the corsairs the way into the Atlantic, and he once ravaged the Canary Islands. Following his footsteps the Algerines extended the limits of their cruises further and further, till their blood-red flag, with the device of the naked arm and hand grasping a scimitar, became known and feared in the North Sea and the British Channel.

Between the years 1609 and 1616 the Algerine corsairs had captured four hundred and sixty-six sail of British ships, all the crews of which were reduced to slavery. In the latter year the English Ambassador, at the Court of Madrid, writing to the Duke of Buckingham, says—"The strength and boldness of the Barbary pirates is now grown to that height, both in the ocean and in the Mediterranean Sea, as I have never known anything to have brought a greater sadness and distraction in this court than the daily advise thereof. Their fleet is divided into two squadrons : one of eighteen sail remaining before Malaga, in sight of the city, the other before the Cape of Santa Maria, which is between Lisbon and Seville."

These corsairs attacked and captured every vessel approaching the Straits of Gibraltar from either side, and absolutely put a stop to all the carrying trade of the Mediterranean, till the very want of more prey compelled them to scatter, and to cruise farther in quest of prizes.

In 1631 another Murad Reis, a Flemish renegade, surprised the town of Baltimore in Ireland, with two hundred men landed from his corsair ships. It is said that he had picked up some

fishermen who belonged to the neighbouring town of *Dungarvan*, and these, to save their own homes, piloted the Algerines to *Baltimore*. "Thence they carried off 237 persons, men, women and children, even those in the cradle. That done, they brought them to *Algiers*, where it was pitiable to see them exposed for sale: for then they separated wives from their husbands, and infants from their mothers. They sold the husband to one, and the wife to another, tearing the daughter from her mother's arms without any hope of ever seeing her again. I heard all this at *Algiers* from several of these slaves, who assured me that no Christian could witness what took place without melting into tears, to see so many honest girls and so many well brought up women abandoned to the brutality of these barbarians."*

A news letter of July 4th, 1640, states:—"Those roguish pirates which lie upon the western coast have taken from the shore about *Penzance*, near *St. Michael's Mount*, sixty men, women and children. This was in the night, for in the day these rogues keep out of sight for fear of the King's ships."

And in the same year the Mayor of *Plymouth* reports that three Turkish men-of-war had taken an English ship near the *Lizard*. The Deputy Lieutenant of *Cornwall* reports that there were at least sixty pirate vessels on the coast, and the fishermen were afraid to put to sea.

A petition presented to His Majesty King *Charles I.* in this same year, states that there were 3,000 English captives at that time in *Algiers*: *Pere Dan* says the total number of Christian slaves in *Barbary* was prodigious, there were 25,000 in *Algiers* alone, and 8,000 renegades besides.

About the same time an Algerine squadron found its way to *Iceland*, piloted to *Reykjavik* by an *Icelander* whom they had taken in a Danish prize. The unfortunate natives had never even heard of such beings as *Turks*, when these swarthy and turbaned ruffians fell upon them, as it were, from the clouds. The Algerines made a clean sweep of the whole population and everything portable in *Reykjavik*. When two years later, a mission was sent from *Denmark* to ransom the captives, it was found that nearly all were dead of sickness, misery, and ill-usage.

Another famous expedition made at this time was that of *Hali Pinchinin* with fifteen galleys to surprise the Holy House at *Loretto*, and carry off the accumulated treasures of the shrine. The Algerines used diligently to enquire among their renegades and slaves for likely objects of their enterprises, and the *Santa Casa* was supposed to be a rich and ill-guarded booty. But

* *Pere Dan's "Histoire de Barbarie,"* p. 313. Paris, 1649.

somehow the destination of Hali's fleet leaked out, and the Christians were ready to receive him, when he arrived, in such force, that he gave up attempting Loretto. Not to return home empty-handed, however, he fell on the neighbouring Venetian coasts and ravaged them furiously, amassing a great booty: but lingering too long over the business, the Venetians had time to equip a fleet in hot haste, which forced him to take refuge in Valona, a Turkish sea-port in Epirus. Here he landed all his spoil and captives in apprehension of an attack, and, indeed, the Venetians, by a clever stratagem, cut out all his galleys: but a cannon-shot having struck a mosque in Valona during the operation, the Sultan, who always secretly favoured the corsairs, demanded that the Venetians should restore all the captured galleys, or prepare for war. They, to escape from the dilemma, burnt the captured vessels and pretended it had been done by accident. Hali Pinchinin and his crews had to convert their spoil into cash in Turkey, and get home as best they could.

A detailed account of the expeditions and exploits of the corsairs during this time of their greatest prosperity and activity might easily be made to fill several volumes: but Colonel Playfair's book only casually touches upon their general history, and principally confines itself to the subject of the relations of the Regency with the British Government as set forth in the Consular archives. At first the European Powers, at peace with Turkey, carried on their communications with the Barbarous Regencies, (as the piratical States were conveniently called for want of a better expression,) through the Sublime Porte and our Queen Elizabeth frequently and seriously addressed remonstrances to the Sultan on account of the outrages committed by his nominal vassals upon her subjects: but when it was found that all the Sultan's Firmans and Khatt-i-Humayuns produced no effect at all upon the pirates, applications for redress and threats of vengeance were addressed direct to the actual chiefs of the corsair communities. The first English Consuls in Algiers seem to have been the leading merchants in the place, for, strange to say, in this nest of pirates, there existed a considerable body of merchants from divers European nations, almost from the earliest times of the corsair occupation. These were always fairly well treated by the Turks, to whom they were exceedingly useful, supplying them, as they did, with all kinds of Europe articles, gunpowder and munitions of war, tackling, cordage and marine stores for their vessels, in exchange for the goods plundered from their own co-religionists and countrymen. The Worshipful Company of Turkey merchants had for long an agency at Algiers, and, treating for, and arranging the ransom of, English captives,

and discounting the ransom money, was a regular branch of mercantile business. The Algerines always professed a kind of Hibernian affection for the French and the English, on account of the natural hostility which both those nations bore to their common enemies the Spaniards, and the first European consuls in Barbary were from these two Powers. A French Consul was appointed in 1581, and an English merchant of the Turkey Company received letters patent as Consul in Algiers four years later, his appointment being formally ratified by the Sultan.

The history of the dealings of our Government with that of the Algerines is a bewildering, and not a very edifying story. Treaties of peace and solemn agreements were made and sworn to over and over again, only to be shamelessly broken by the corsairs. The Dey insulted the English consuls and braved the consequences when he had nothing to hope or to fear, but became wonderfully amenable to reason when an English squadron appeared off the coast, and positively complaisant and obliging when he sniffed a present in prospective, either in money or gunpowder.

"It seems incredible at the present day," says Colonel Playfair, "that such a state of things could have been permitted to exist: that so infamous a rabble should have been allowed the undisputed right of interfering with the commerce of the world, and enriching themselves with the ransom of the best blood of Christendom." In fact, many proposals were made for a general league of Christian powers to destroy these nests of pirates: one notably in the reign of our James the First which provided for the payment of the expenses of the proposed expedition *by the sale of the Turks and Moors as slaves*. But national rivalries always stood in the way of such a combination; and in fact, though it is a shameful fact, the English and French were really not sorry for the maintenance of a system which completely destroyed the commerce of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and threw all the carrying trade of the seas into their own hands: and they were still more rejoiced when there was a rupture between the Algerines and a rival great Power, for then, their own commerce increased and flourished in proportion as that of their rivals was diminished by the risks it ran from the pirates. We can hardly wonder at these unworthy jealousies in those times, when in our own day we have seen an English Government trying, however shame-facedly, and however vainly, to uphold the worst Government in the world, in order to prevent the aggrandisement of a rival European nation.

England and France were the only two nations who were powerful enough at sea to exempt themselves from the payment

of actual tribute to the Barbary Regencies besides Spain, which was too proud to stoop to the ignominy of purchasing a peace with her relentless tormentors. Neither were the Portuguese or the Italians admitted to the benefits of this so-called peace, however much they might be willing to pay for it: ostensibly because they were "the hereditary enemies of the Musalman faith," and no doubt also, because their convenient proximity made their plunder more profitable than any payment would have proved. It was not till the year 1812, that the Portuguese were admitted to the peace *through the mediation of the British Government*, on the following terms: they paid a million of dollars for the release of all Portuguese slaves in Algiers; they agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty-four thousand dollars, and the usual presents also to the Dey and Chief officers on the appointment of a Consul. Sweden, Denmark, the Hanse Towns, Holland and the United States of America, all paid regular tribute to Algiers, while the French and English vied with each other in the costliness and splendour of the presents which they constantly despatched to the Dey. The American Consul, Mr. Eaton, who was sent in 1798 to Algiers, with arrears of tribute due by the United States, very pertinently observed of the Dey:—"Can any man believe that this "elevated brute has seven kings of Europe, two Republics and "a Continent tributary to him, when his whole naval force is "not equal to two line-of-battle ships?"

Colonel Playfair tells us that—"The weaker nations which "had to submit to the humiliation of paying actual tribute "were treated in the most contemptuous manner, and in the "event of arrears remaining too long unpaid, their consuls "were sent to hard labour in chains, from which some of them "actually died"

The first actual treaty, between the English and the Algerines, was made by the Long Parliament. James the First had sent a fleet of twenty sail to Algiers to coerce the Corsairs; but the Dey cajoled the Admiral with fine promises, and secretly sent away all the English slaves out of the town: then he demanded reparation for outrages committed by the English as a set-off against the damage done by the pirates, and finally delivered up eighteen English slaves as all that there were in Algiers: the English were thoroughly fooled and went away thinking they had put a stop to the piracy, and that same year the corsairs captured forty sail of British ships.

The Dey after this, often proposed to negotiate a regular treaty with the English, always receiving a large present through the Consul as a preliminary: after which nothing more was heard of the matter.

In King Charles the I.'s reign, a general collection was made

by order of the Parliament, throughout the United Kingdom for the charitable purpose of the redemption of the miserable English captives in Algiers. The total sum thus collected was only £2,848. The illegal levy of ship-money which caused the first disputes between Charles and his Parliament, was intended to defray the charges of protecting the southern coasts against these pestilent corsairs. The peace concluded with the Algerines by Edmund Casson, the Agent of the Parliament, was to be "till the end of the world, and no man should break it." No Englishmen were to be made slaves in future, and no English ship molested. The English merchants in Algiers were to be allowed a place of worship, and if any Englishman had committed any offence against the laws of Algiers *even to striking a Turk or Moor* and escape, neither the English Consul nor any other Englishman, should be called to account for it: the English slaves in Algiers amounting to six hundred and fifty, with one hundred besides absent in the cruisers, were to be freed on ransom, at the average rate of £32 per head. Great trouble was experienced in getting some persons to part with their private slaves for any consideration whatever. Colonel Playfair gives *in extenso* some pathetic letters written by English slaves at this time to friends in England, imploring that money may be sent for their ransom. A list of slaves liberated by Casson containing 242 names, with the ransom paid for each, is still extant. Among them occur the names of many women, and of many Irish also, probably some of the victims from Baltimore.

In Cromwell's time Admiral Blake visited Algiers and was very civilly received, for good reason: for he had just before chastised the Tunisians and completely destroyed their pirate fleet of nine sail at Porto Farina. However, the Lord Protector was soon afterwards complaining of the capture of an English ship by the Algerines; the Dey replies with recriminations that the English carry cargoes and passengers of the Spaniards, Portuguese, Genoese, &c., and so defraud the corsairs of their lawful prey; and he gives notice that henceforth he will hold the English Consul responsible for such doings. Charles the Second on his restoration sent another mission to Algiers to settle these matters, and a fresh Treaty was concluded, the most remarkable stipulation of which was that "*Liberty was granted to the Algerines to search British vessels and take out all foreigners and their goods.*" But King Charles, to his credit, refused to ratify the Treaty: the Algerines obstinately insisted on the obnoxious article: the King sent two more Missions to Algiers, one of them supported by a fleet, and the negotiations, or rather wranglings and contentions were continued for ten years, the corsairs pretending to be on the

point of yielding, and all the time snapping up English Merchantmen on the plea that the Treaty was in abeyance : while the funds raised for the redemption of captives had been embezzled (they called it "appropriated") by the English Government to pay the debts of the Navy. At last the patience of King Charles was exhausted, and he formally declared war against the Algerines. A combined squadron of ten English and four Dutch ships set out to hunt down the corsairs, and in 1670 they met with and completely destroyed the Algerine Atlantic fleet of six ships, and next year Sir Edward Spragg burnt the ten ships of their Mediterranean fleet in Bujeva harbour. "Infuriated at these disasters the janissaries rose in revolt, murdered their Agha, and carried his head to the Divan. The Pasha looking out of his balcony, asking them the reason, they answered that they must have peace with the English."

The obnoxious article was now left out of the revised Treaty. The English slaves then in captivity were not, however, liberated unless ransomed in hard cash. All English ships were to carry passes, with a peculiar stamp on them (for the Corsairs could not read even their own language), and shewing these passes should exempt them from search.

Afterwards several cases occurred of English vessels being taken because unprovided with passes, and the Consul had hard work to get them released. At length the Algerines brought in an English sloop of war which had tried to defend a Dutch Merchantman attacked by an Algerine squadron. The Algerines grumbled much at having to surrender the prisoners taken in these ships, but they absolutely insisted on keeping the cargoes. Matters came to a climax, when one of the finest of the Algerine vessels arrived in port almost a total wreck. She had only destroyed seventeen small English fishing vessels in the Atlantic, and brought in forty-one Englishmen as captives ; she had been then wantonly attacked by a British frigate and most grievously mauled, only escaping capture under cover of a dark and stormy night.

The whole city was thrown into an uproar at this evidence of the perfidious and inhuman conduct of the English. Some were for killing the Consul at once : but calmer counsels prevailed, and he obtained liberty to remain under arrest in his own house. War was again waged by the English against the Algerines, and in 1681 the Earl of Torrington took the Algerine cruiser, the *Golden Horn*, of 38 guns, having a crew of 460 men, whereof 70 were Christians : and Captain Cloudsley Shovel took the *Rose* of 22 guns with 30 Christians among her crew of 200 men. Eventually, peace was again made, the principal stipulations being that the boat sent by an Algerine cruiser to

search a British ship should only contain two men besides the rowers.

No sooner were the Algerines fairly at peace with the English than they began to plunder the French : for they could not afford to remain friendly to more than one of the great trading nations at the same time. About this time the Dey had consented to admit the Dutch to peace under promise of tribute, to the great disgust of the corsairs, who represented to him that they could not make their calling pay, if they were debarred from making prizes of the ships of the three great mercantile nations, the English, the French and the Dutch at the same time ; and when the Dey alleged the great loss and damage done to the State cruisers by the English and Dutch men-of-war, they replied that the gains out of the captured Merchantmen quite counterbalanced that loss : and, moreover, quoted an expressive Arabic proverb : " That those ought never to sow who are afraid of the sparrows."

But Le Grand Monarque would stand none of their nonsense, and bade them at once make full reparation, or prepare for war : and as they were little used to hearing such peremptory language from the European Powers, they bade him do his worst. They immediately became very complaisant to the English, and agreed that their corsairs should never again go into the English Channel, and that they should demand no passes from English vessels from Cape Finisterre northwards. Louis the Fourteenth was as good as his word, and in 1683 he sent a strong French fleet to attack Algiers, under the command of the Marquis Duquesne. They threw 6,000 bombs into the town, and seven or eight hundred Turks and Moors were killed in the ruins of their houses. The whole place was in disorder, the janissaries rose in revolt, murdered the Dey and elected Haji Hasan, the Captain of the galleys, to succeed him. Some say that his nickname of " Mezzomorto " was derived from his cadaverous appearance ; others that he was so called because he was left for dead in a combat between the corsairs and a Christian cruiser. The new Dey sent a message to the French Admiral that if the attack were renewed, he would blow every Frenchman in the place away from guns. This threat he partially carried into execution : the French Consul and twenty other Frenchmen were blown from the mouths of guns. Duquesne's squadron having expended all their ammunition were obliged to retire.

The Algerines in retaliation sent their galleys next summer to the coasts of Languedoc and Provence where they committed the most frightful ravages. King Louis again sent a stronger fleet to Algiers under the Marschal Duc d'Estrees and they mercilessly bombarded the city, lying before it for nearly a

month and, continually renewing their fire, they destroyed almost three-fourths of the town, and made the streets run with blood. The Algerines blew 50 Frenchmen from the mouths of guns, and the French retaliated by strangling their Turkish captives, and sending their bodies ashore lashed to rafts. But the Algerines were determined not to give in, as they knew that to shew the white feather would be to ruin their future chances of success altogether. After throwing 13,000 bombs into the city, d'Estrées had to withdraw for want of ammunition without bringing the Algerines to terms, but after showing their bravado, the Divan made peace with the French next year rather than risk another visitation. This peace was so unpopular with the Turks, who could not bear to confess themselves beaten, that Mezzomorto thought it wiser to abdicate the Deyship, and he afterwards took service with the Sultan, and commanded his fleets against the Venetians in the Levant, and against the Russians in the Black Sea.

Though the Algerines did their best to put a good face on this matter, there is no doubt that it cowed them dreadfully, and they were no longer so secure of themselves as they had hitherto been. After this they leaned more and more to England, and the conquest of Gibraltar and Minorca by our fleets had a great influence on their behaviour, still they would not release English slaves without ransom. In 1696 there were 120 English slaves in Algiers, whose ransom, as demanded, averaged £60 a head. In the year 1724 died Mr. Thomas Betton, of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, who left all his fortune in trust for the redemption of British slaves in Turkey or Barbary. Under this will the sum of £21,000 was paid away between the years 1734 and 1835; The money has since been appropriated for other charitable and educational purposes under authority of the Court of Chancery.

All through the eighteenth century the Algerines continued in a nominal state of peace with England: with a monotonous current of complaints, recriminations, and counter charges, running through their mutual diplomatic intercourse. The English men-of-war fire showed guns at the Algerine cruisers, make them come under their sterns, and take Christian slaves out of them. English merchantmen fire at Algerine boats boarding them with the two regulation sitters only, besides oarsmen: Turkish and Moorish slaves are found aboard English ships: the soldiers in the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon throw stones at Algerine boats' crews.

"An English privateer meeting a small Algerine cruiser, fired a gun to make the Turk lower his topsails in honour of his Britannic Majesty; the other did not comply or was unacquainted with the ceremony, whereupon nine guns were fired into

"him in earnest, and answered by as many as the Turk could "bring to bear. The privateer then fired her whole broadside "into the Turk, killing seven men and wounding one."

On the other hand, in 1713, the Algerines captured a British ship with a large sum of gold on board destined for the payment of the British troops in Minorca: they surrendered the ship and the crew afterwards, but they would not give up the gold. A Spanish man-of-war took an English ship in which thirty Moors were passengers, and these were sold as slaves in Spain. The Dey, not very logically demanded reparation or satisfaction from the English who were themselves at war with Spain.

In 1749 the Corsairs took an English Government packet-boat from Lisbon to Falmouth, on the pretence that she had no pass on board. The sum of £25,000 in specie, which was on board, was kept by the Dey, though he released the ship and crew. In vain the English threatened him with war: he did not believe that the British Government would go to war with him for so trifling a matter as £25,000, and he was right. He asked for time and brought forward counter claims until every one was tired of the whole business, and it dropped.

When the French took Minorca from the English after Admiral Byng's failure to relieve the place, they found in it a store of passes which the Governors used to issue to ships under the British flag leaving the island. These passes the French and Spaniards proceeded to issue to their own ships, who, by hoisting false colours and showing these passes, used to escape capture by the corsairs. When the latter found out the trick, they were very angry; but the Dey was quite equal to the occasion, and gave orders that all ships with passes should be made prizes of hereafter as if they had none. A number of English ships were thus captured and carried into Algiers: and the Algerines made a great merit of consenting to their ultimate liberation. This matter was arranged by James Bruce of Kinnaird, the great African traveller and discoverer of the sources of the Blue Nile who was then Consul at Algiers. The English consuls had anything but an enviable time of it: the Deys used to seize any pretext to get rid of them in order to get the presents which were always given on the appointment of a new Consul. Sometimes they had the impertinence to dismiss the Consul from his post as if he had been their servant, and the English Government, after some feeble altercation, swallowed this affront also. But captains of English men-of-war were not at all so forbearing, and the Turks had a very wholesome respect for the Union Jack.

A Spanish transport conveying part of the "Regimento di Hibernia," a loyalist Irish Regiment in the service of Spain

from Italy, was chased near Majorca by an Algerine squadron. The first Xebecque that came up boarded the transport, but the Irishmen repulsing the attack, themselves boarded the Xebecque and drove the Turks overboard into the water: the other Algerines coming up, attacked them on all sides, the Turks crying out, "these are no Spaniards; if they are not Englishmen, they are devils!" All the ammunition of the Irishmen being expended and their vessel made a total wreck by the enemy's guns, they were obliged to surrender, and were all carried to Algiers and sold as slaves. There were several officers' wives and children among them.

After their defeats by the Dutch and English fleets, the Algerines rarely cruised in fleets or squadrons; but two or three corsairs usually sailed in consort for protection against men-of-war, or to be able to overpower a well-armed merchantman by force of numbers. Three of them were often to be seen at one time bearing down on their unfortunate prey, their slant decks covered with swords from stem to stern, the turbaned gunners stripped to the waist ready at their guns; "all sail set, every rope a taunto, and the red flag of Muhammad flying at the foremast head." Sometimes, especially when 'pica-rooning' on the coasts, they played cunning: hoisting false colours, and making their men all lie close, for fear of showing their turbans; while the renegades went on deck with European sailors' hats on. In 1815, an Algerine squadron cruised off the coast of Italy, and by hoisting British colours decoyed on board three hundred and fifty of the inhabitants. On hearing that the American frigates were off Algiers, "these miserable victims were landed at Bona and driven like cattle overland to the capital. Fifty-one of them perished on the way, and the remainder arrived and passed the Dey's inspection literally naked and perishing from hunger, ill-treatment, and fatigue: one of them actually dropped down and expired in his presence."

On another occasion a knavish impresario or manager of an opera company, engaged a number of Italian singers for an imaginary operatic company, and shipped them from Leghorn in a coasting vessel, which, by a preconceived agreement, met with an Algerine cruiser in the offing, where a pretended capture was effected, and the unfortunate tenores and contraltos were all carried off to Algiers where they were sold as slaves for the benefit of the villainous impresario and his Algerine accomplices. The domestic history of Algiers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a monotonous record of mutinies, massacres and murders: not one out of ten of the Deys ever dying a natural death.

The "Kul-oghliis," or half-breed Turks, once formed a

conspiracy to seize the Government, and very nearly effected their object ; but after a bloody struggle, they were overpowered by the Turks, assisted by the European renegades ; numbers of the Kul-oghliis were put to the sword, and the rest disarmed.

The Algerines had been unceasing in their endeavors to recover Oran, which was the last port possessed by Spain upon their coast : and at last they succeeded in driving out the Spaniards after they had held possession of the place for two hundred years. The Turks were overjoyed at this success ; they cast cannon out of the metal of the bells which they took from the steeples of the churches of Oran : and the brazen throats, which had bidden their Catholic masters peace and good-will, vomited destruction against them from the batteries on the mole when they came on their unsuccessful errand to the corsair city in 1784.

The pirates always continued to plague the Spanish and Italian coasts most horribly : and at length their victims determined to make a united and supreme effort to root out this nest of man-stealers, and to destroy it for ever. The Spaniards furnished the chief force, and they were joined by the Portuguese, the Neapolitans, and the Tuscans ; while the gallant Knights of Malta for the last time “ unfurled against the infidels of Algeria the blessed banner of redemption.” Their combined navies covered the seas before Algiers for the space of twenty days ; but the warriors of “ Ghazi Gazair ” gallantly upheld their ancient fame. The Algerine flotilla of galleys and small craft sallied out daily, and prevented the Christian gun and mortar boats from coming near enough in shore to do any damage : and after continual desultory cannonading and fighting, the huge Christian confederate armament retired without having accomplished anything.

But though their stout defence on this occasion somewhat recalled their ancient fame, the might of the Barbary corsairs was steadily on the decline. In spite of the spoils and tributes of Christendom, the power of the Algerines was continually decreasing all through the eighteenth century, and this not so much from any exertion of their enemies, or change of fortune, as from the mysterious decay, like some kind of political dry-rot, which overtakes the institutions, and enervates the national character of all Musalman peoples in this age. The Turks of Algiers appeared incapable of improvement, and perhaps their apparent decline was really owing to the fact, that they remained simply stationary while other nations were moving on in the paths of enlightenment and progress.

For years before his final suppression by the French, the Algerine corsair was no longer a warrior but a sneaking sea-thief, who generally combined the calling of a smuggler

with his more ostensible one of pirate. His picturesque figure in high Fez cap, red jacket and yellow *shalwar*, with brass-barrelled pistols and curved scimitar, might often be seen in the slums of neutral ports in the Levant and Mediterranean in company with disreputable Jews and Christians on the lookout for any dirty and profitable job.

During the great wars of the French Revolution, the profits of the Algerines from their piracies greatly declined. Owing to the complete mastery England had obtained over the seas, nearly all the merchantmen afloat sailed under the protection of her flag: and the ubiquity of the Union Jack also greatly interfered with the freedom of action of the corsairs, for, in spite of treaties and agreements, the word 'Algerine' was a synonym for everything abominable to the British Tar, and the Algerine ships used to return into port complaining that they had been chased and wantonly fired into by British men-of-war. But the cup of the iniquity of Algiers was full, and the spirit which had moved the English nation to the abolition of the African slave-trade was not likely to endure the continued existence of the white slave markets of Barbary.

The first nation which had the boldness to revolt against the ignominious homage paid to the corsairs was the United States of America: the Yankees had consented to pay tribute: but when they found that the Algerines' view of a treaty was a one-sided one, and that their merchantmen were plundered at the same time that their money-payments were graciously accepted, their honest souls revolted against such an unbusiness-like arrangement. A squadron of American frigates entered the Mediterranean in 1815 under the gallant Commodore Decatur, and soon brought the corsairs to their knees: the Pasha of Tripoli who blustered and shewed fight, had his castle knocked about his ears, and his piratical fleet of crazy old craft sent to the bottom, and Tunis and Algiers hastened to make terms with the unwelcome visitors, placing America on the footing of the most favoured nations.

After the general peace of 1815, Lord Exmouth was sent with a British fleet to the Mediterranean to try to negotiate for the total cessation of Christian slavery. The Tunisians and Tripolitans at once agreed to admit all their slaves to ransom, and to abstain from capturing any in future; but the proposition excited the most violent opposition in Algiers. The English Consul went in peril of his life. The Algerines sent off an embassy to the Sultan to claim his countenance and support against the unheard-of and preposterous demands of the English Government: and they sent as a present to their Suzerain, among other things, forty Christian slaves.

While the negotiations were in progress, the fury of the people

could not be restrained from outrages on Europeans and Christians, and at last the Dey ordered the arrest of all English subjects. In consequence the Italian coral fishers at Bona, who were under the protection of the English flag, were set upon, and one hundred of them cruelly murdered by the Turks. The Dey was now frightened at what he had done, and ordered the liberation of the survivors: but his repentance was too late. The anger of the English nation was roused, and they determined thoroughly to humble the insolence of the Algerines.

The result was the famous bombardment of Algiers by the British fleet under Lord Exmouth, and the total destruction of the fortifications and of the whole of the corsair fleet. The Dey hastened to agree to all the British demands, and gave up sixteen hundred European slaves, all who then remained in Algiers (eighteen of these were English): along with those released at Tunis and Tripoli, the total came to over three thousand. The Algerines engaged never again to make slaves of prisoners of war, and the Dey had to make a public apology in full Divan to the Consul for having imprisoned and chained him, in terms dictated by the English.

The irrepressible Algerines were soon upon the war-path again in spite of their severe chastisement, and in 1819 a combined English and French fleet anchored before Algiers and required the Dey to make a solemn and formal renunciation of piracy by a written agreement. This he positively refused to do, alleging "that the rights of the Algerines were recognised "by solemn treaties, and had been respected by the whole "world for several centuries." The allied fleets quietly withdrew on receiving this rebuff, and the Dey boasted of having set all the Powers of Europe at defiance.

The rebellion of the Greeks afforded the Algerines a plausible excuse for sending their fleet to the Levant to aid the Sultan against his revolted subjects, and their frigates there carried on a general piracy under pretence of cruising against the Greeks. The plague was at that time raging in Algiers, and their plague-stricken vessels diffused the disease all through the Mediterranean.

Cases were continually occurring of European women and girls being kidnapped by the Turks, and it was impossible to recover the victims, except after years of negotiation. In 1824 the English were again involved in hostilities with the Algerines, owing to the arbitrary expulsion of their Consul by the Dey on account of the former resisting some high-handed proceeding of the Turkish Government. The Dey grossly insulted the Consul, and refused to permit him to remain at his post. This led to long and tedious negotiations, and eventually to war, and to a second bombardment of Algiers by Sir Harry

Neale in 1824. On this occasion however, very little damage was done. The most noteworthy incidents in the whole operations were the appearance of a war-steamer for the first time in the British fleet, and the gallant defence of a small Algerine cruiser against a very superior force: this vessel had been at the favourite game of "taking men out of their beds in Spain," and was returning to Algiers with seventeen Spanish prisoners, when she fell in with the English squadron. They fired upon her within half pistol-shot for three-quarters of an hour without being able to force her to surrender. The English boarded her and took the gallant Turkish captain and his Spanish slaves out of her: but the vessel was so shattered with shot, that she was useless, and was cast adrift. The Captain who behaved in a manner that elicited universal admiration, was sent back to Algiers on the conclusion of peace.

The Dey after all got his own way by wearing out the patience of the English Government, and the obnoxious Consul did not go back to Algiers. The Dey had a picture painted representing Sir Harry Neale's bombardment, and this picture was found in his palace when it was taken by the French five years afterwards. A facsimile of it is given in Colonel Playfair's book.

"The final *denouement* of this miserable history is now at hand." The Algerines were this time in hot-water with the French, and in an interview with the French Consul, the latter having laughed at the idea of the King of France and the Dey of Algiers being on a footing of equality, the incensed Turk struck him on the face with his fan. The French declared war, and their fleet blockaded the coast for two years, without producing any impression on the Turks, but in the month of June 1830, a French army landed in the Bay of Sidi Ferruj, close to Algiers. The Turks hastily assembled all their forces, and, assisted by swarms of Arabs and Kabylis, attacked the invaders, but they were totally routed, and all their guns and stores taken. The victorious French soon brought their batteries to bear on the town, and the Dey and his Turks seemed like men stupefied and paralysed with amazement. They hardly made any attempt at effectual resistance. On the French effecting a lodgment on the walls, the Dey surrendered at discretion.

There were at this time only 3,000 Turks and 12,000 Kul-oghliis in Algiers. The latter were disarmed by the conquerors: but the perpetual banishment of the Turkish ruling race was decreed. All the unmarried Turks were at once marched on board the French troop-ships and transported to the coast of Asia Minor, where they were turned adrift to shift for themselves, each being given five dollars. The married Turks were

allowed a month to settle their affairs and put their houses in order, and then they were bundled on board French ships and sent off, "bag and baggage," to Smyrna, as if in anticipation of the Gladstonian policy. The Dey was allowed to exile himself to Italy, where he smoked and sauntered away his life in peace. Great store of gold and silver was found by the victors in the Treasury, for the wealth of their country was reckoned by the Algerines, as by all orientals, to depend on the amount of hard cash uselessly and safely locked up in the State coffers.

This was the ignominious end of the Government of the Turks in Algiers which had, for close on three hundred years, been the scandal of humanity and the curse of all the neighbouring nations, a veritable "Scourge of Christendom," as Colonel Playfair has styled it. To those who care to know more of the dealings of these cruel corsairs with their fellow-men, we recommend Colonel Playfair's book, which sets forth in detail, a little known and not very creditable chapter in European history. It will not have been written in vain if it teaches us the folly of dealing with semi-barbarous communities as if they were civilized nations, of relying on treaties and agreements with them which bind only our own hands, and of imagining that the sums we pay to purchase their venal friendship will ever be taken into account when they have an opportunity of safely enriching themselves at our expense.

The book is very well got up and printed, and contains some interesting old views of "the famous and warlike city of Algiers" with several maps and plans.

F. H. TYRRELL.

ART. VII.—“SHOPPING” IN INDIA AND IN EUROPE.

A SHOP is a shop all the world over, whether it is called a “Stores,” as in America, or is dignified by the name of “Establishment,” as in India, and shopping is shopping; but as we cannot well make use of the words “Storing” and “Establishmenting,” we still keep to the old word; although there is a greater difference in the purchasing of goods in Europe and in India, than in the shops where those goods are obtainable.

The latter cannot be said to differ very materially, as far as the variety and quality of their goods are concerned, but there is a considerable difference in the manner of disposing of, or selling them. In Europe, everything that a man can possibly want is generally obtainable within a short distance, and he can, as a rule, see and select it for himself; but in India a large proportion of the purchasing public have to write for the goods to be sent to them, and consequently can only endeavour to select the articles they require, from the numerous catalogues that are circulated by the trading community, and which they will, if they are wise, keep by them. Even when the purchases can be made in person a great difference exists, and while a day's shopping in London is sufficiently tiring, in India it is thoroughly exhausting.

There are certain circumstances under which, in Europe, it becomes a pleasure to wander from shop to shop, feasting one's eyes on all the new and beautiful articles of modern manufacture. After years of life in the jungles of Assam or Cachar, or in some small out-of-the-way station in Bengal, where every article purchased has to be obtained from shops or rather establishments, known to the purchaser only through catalogues and advertisements, and whose stores of merchandise cannot be inspected, except on the rare occasion of a visit to one of the large towns;—after years of this shopping in the dark, what a relief it is to be able to *see* the things we want to buy; to buy them, then and there, without the usual wearisome routine of writing for catalogues, puzzling for hours over their contents in the endeavour to find out which one contains the exact article you require, or which *is* the exact article; then writing for it, and receiving something totally different to what you expected or wanted; and finally having to return it, at your own cost, or pay for and keep an

article that is useless to you. A friend of mine once ordered a dozen shirts from a large establishment, from which he had received a special shirt advertisement. They were sent exactly three inches smaller in the neck than his pattern one, which he had been careful to send. His wife ordered a riding habit and sent a pattern also, the habit was sent with a waist nearly six inches too large. What consolation were the ample apologies and offers to rectify the mistakes? The innocent purchaser has to pay all expenses, although the fault lies entirely with the guilty supplier.

After this kind of shopping there is a decided pleasure in finding oneself in the region of shops, and in seeing all the new and wonderful inventions that have been brought into use in the years that have passed since you last walked down Oxford-street, or wandered through those delightful "passages" in Paris, where everything is to be seen, and where, provided the exchange has not made too large a hole in your income, you can purchase anything you want.

Are you a sportsman? See these rifles and guns, handle them, examine them carefully—how many will you inspect and bring up to your shoulder before you can decide which is the one? Are you a disciple of Isaac Walton? Is it not a pleasure to find yourself in the midst of all the appliances of the "gentle art?" Are you a book-worm? What gratification have you ever had from the catalogues of books you have consulted so diligently, and the occasional arrival of a parcel of them, that can compare with the enjoyment you derive from finding yourself in a good bookshop, with thousands of these treasures around you? Here is employment and recreation for you for hours and days if you like.

I remember once going into a bookseller's shop, after having been denied that pleasure for years, and looking on the tables, counters, and shelves, laden with books with the greediest of eyes. There were dozens, nay, scores of books I wanted to read there and then. I quite forgot why I had entered the shop, and was lost in admiration of all these accumulated treasures, in gloating over one that I had seized upon, as a hungry man would seize upon a loaf of bread. What a feast! I could have stayed there for hours, and probably should have excited the suspicions of the worthy bookseller by doing so, if the small folk with me had not suggested in a matter-of-fact-tone, which brought me back most reluctantly from the realms of book-land; that, as they had taken a story-book each, I had better pay for them.

Is there any other shop that can equal a bookseller's or a gun-smith's to a poor benighted jungly-wallah? The tailors and drapers may have their attractions, but they have their drawbacks

too. It makes a man feel somewhat uncomfortable to be eyed with polite astonishment as if he had come out of the ark, and to see the coat that he had thought to be quite the right thing, and that really had looked quite fashionable in his quiet little station, being examined as if it was something remarkable in the way of coats. A man takes his seat in the train, that is, to convey him far away from the scene of his every-day life, feeling himself to be well dressed, or at least quite presentable; but he experiences a sudden reversion of feeling when he stands in his tailor's shop, and does not quite recover his self-confidence until he is clothed in all the glory of a new coat, cut in the latest fashion.

If one of the nobler sex feels almost ashamed of himself in the presence of the tailor who himself supplied the—*now* despised garment, what must one of the weaker sex feel upon paying her dress-maker a visit? She dares not attempt to do the rest of her shopping until a new and fashionable costume, and a bonnet of the latest style, with gloves, &c., of the correct shade and texture, have replaced those her husband had declared looked so well only that morning. How dowdy they seem now! How the shop-girls look at her, and how very uncomfortable she feels. For men or women to be able to meet their tailor or dress-maker with confidence they must be well dressed, but what does the gun-maker or the bookseller care about the fashion of his customer's clothes, so long as that customer is a good one?

The good people, whose relations return to Europe from foreign parts, are frequently made uncomfortable by the amount of notice they attract by the strange cut of their clothes, especially if those relations have lived far away from the large centres of civilization; but the gun-maker knows that in his unfashionable customer he may find a keen sportsman who will carry off some of his best weapons with him back to the jungles of India. The customer himself, for the time being, almost wishes himself back there that he might try how straight these new and wonderful weapons will carry.

It is a very different thing buying an article when there are dozens to choose from, and when you can examine and handle each one, instead of having to judge of their perfections from a mere catalogue or advertisement, and there is a considerable amount of enjoyment in shopping when all the wealth and inventive talent of the world is displayed before you—in Europe,—but not in India, where it is too exhausting and too conducive to the loss of temper. In a climate like that of India where, as a rule, every one indulges in rather more luxury than they would in Europe, and where, in private life, every means is taken to obviate the necessity for exertion, it is singular that in the matter of shopping so little should be done in this respect.

What would the customers of any respectable London or even provincial tradesman say, and do, if they were obliged to stand at the counter while they were being served, and if they were constantly informed that such and such article, supposed to be obtainable in that shop, were "not in stock at present." Let us suppose a customer entering a shop in England, it must be very crowded, indeed, if there is no chair to be found. Let us further suppose it to be a draper's shop, and cloth, ribbon, or some such article has to be matched. If the right shade is not in stock, the customer is politely asked to wait a few minutes while it is being obtained from some other shop, and thus a great deal of inconvenience and unnecessary fatigue is avoided.

There may be some good reason for banishing chairs from most, if not all, of the Calcutta establishments, but the general public are not aware of it, and they are aware, and painfully so, too, of the inconvenience of standing about for some hours, while they are completing any considerable purchases. Let us now consider the case of a lady-customer entering a large Calcutta establishment. She has to stand about the whole time she is being served—unless, indeed, she is fortunate enough to require boots or shoes for herself, in which case a chair is kindly provided. If she happens to require the boots and shoes for several pairs of small feet that have to be fitted, her case is a hard one, for she can hardly sit on the floor, or the counter, while they are being tried on. We will further suppose that she has on her list a dozen articles that she depends upon getting in this one shop. She finds that several of them are "not in stock." They are obtainable, probably, at the next establishment a few doors off; but there is no polite offer of—"shall I send out and try and get it for you, Madame?"—such as would invariably be made in any respectable English shop. She must walk about, over the burning pavement, and under the scorching sun, from shop to shop, to try and get it; the distance may not be great, not sufficiently so to make it worth her while to get in and out of her carriage, but quite enough to exhaust her after having stood any considerable time in the shop. In and out she has to go, waiting perhaps five, perhaps ten minutes in each place, while the articles she requires are being looked for, and nowhere is there a chair for her to rest upon.

It once happened, that being ignorant of this discourteous custom of the Calcutta tradesmen, I made an appointment to meet a friend at a certain shop, where we both intended to do some shopping. He was late for his appointment, and I waited two long weary hours, wandering about the shop, and leaning against the counter. No chair was offered to me, although I explained why I was waiting, and at last I asked for

one, and had the satisfaction of hearing that one was called for; but it must have been a long way off, for it never arrived.

Perhaps I am maligning the city of palaces, and should find a different state of things if I again visited it, for I am speaking of nearly twelve months ago. If so, I cry *mea culpa* with all my heart, but although many and great changes have taken place in late years, I fear that in these two particulars there have been none. It is difficult to conjecture why shopping in India, whether by correspondence or in person, should not be made as little of a trouble as possible, instead of being, as it is, a constant source of annoyance, and there is no doubt the desire for the Overland V. P. Post would not have arisen if the Anglo-Indian public could obtain what they require, in India, with less trouble than at present.

For those who live in any of the large towns, where there are excellent European as well as native shops, the trouble is far less, but there is no reason why even these more favoured mortals should be denied the luxury of a chair—a luxury that is obtainable in the native shops. John Chinaman always provides a chair for his customers, even though he may have to borrow a broken one from a neighbour. As for the unfortunate portion of the community who have to send long distances for the thousand and one requirements of a family, the constant annoyance and trouble it causes is enough to try the very best of tempers. It is not surprising that Anglo-Indians are anxious for every facility for obtaining small articles from Europe, considering the amount of worry and loss they have to put up with, and the inconvenience that is caused by that objectionable phrase that Indian tradesmen indulge in so freely, "not in stock."

The delay in sending to Europe is amply compensated by the satisfaction of receiving everything ordered. European tradesmen (in Europe) cannot afford to annoy their customers by sending half the goods ordered, and telling them that the rest are not in stock, when, by sending to another shop (with whom they generally have a mutual accommodation arrangement), they can complete the order. The Indian tradesman does not hesitate to disappoint his customers in the most heartless manner, and never takes the trouble to send even to the next shop to complete their orders, although by so doing he would save them a very serious amount of inconvenience and loss. Imagine the feelings of an unfortunate officer who expects his C. C. by a certain date, and writes off, or even telegraphs, post-haste, for white gloves, or any other small article that he considers to be necessary to complete his attire, when just the very day he expects his parcel, he receives a polite apology, "regret we have none of the size required."

A lady sends a list of the stores she requires for some special occasion—a Christmas dinner, the race week, or a wedding breakfast. She is careful to send early as delays may occur, and having done so considers herself safe to receive them, and rests satisfied. In due time she gets the cases, and finds that several of the most important items have been omitted; it is not much comfort to be told that they "shall be forwarded immediately upon the arrival of our next supply of hams," &c.

Who does not remember a score, nay, a hundred of such experiences. A certain book is ordered, but the bookseller has "none at present." If the order is sent home to any small provincial bookseller it is promptly attended to, and if he "has none at present," he does not fail to add, that "not having been able to obtain the book locally he has sent to London for it, and trust to be able to forward it by the next mail." The natural consequence of the disobligingness of the one tradesman, and the obligingness of the other is, that the Anglo-Indian, as a rule, prefers the delay that is incurred by sending to Europe, to the vexation that is caused by receiving incomplete orders, and having therefore to send twice or three times over.

As I said before, many great and acceptable changes have taken place within the last few years, especially in the quality and price of the goods sold, and that the public fully appreciate them is proved by the success that has attended the few enterprising firms that have been bold enough to strike out a new line for themselves, and to carry on their business on the principle of "small profits and quick returns." If these firms would go a few steps further, and deal with their customers as tradesmen in Europe do, treating them with the same amount of fairness and courtesy, the Anglo-Indian public would hardly wish, as at present it most certainly does, for the Overland V.-P. Post. It is unreasonable to suppose that people would send all the way to Europe if they could get what they wanted in India, unless there were good reasons for their doing so; but under existing circumstances it is probable that many of the Indian firms would suffer considerably by the introduction of the Overland V.-P. Post. Although the prices in the new firms do not leave much margin for complaint in the matter of stores and clothing, the prices of many of the establishments are ridiculously high, and should the O. V.-P. Post come in force, they will have either to follow the example of the more enterprising firms, and sell their goods at a rate that would render it unprofitable for private persons to send to Europe for them, or retire from the scene, the victims of their own system of scant courtesy and high prices. There is no doubt that the cash firms, who have taken "small profits and quick returns" as their motto, are already beating the others out of the field, and

they at least would have no need to fear the O. V.-P. Post being started, if, (and that *if* is a big one,) their customers could always depend upon their sending the orders they receive in full, and could be trusted to do their utmost to send the right thing. There are many parts of India to which letters from any of the chief towns take several days in reaching. A catalogue is received, perhaps, a week after it has been posted by the advertising firm; another week is consumed before an order can be received by that firm; a third before the goods ordered can be received, and then six times out of twelve the goods advertised in the catalogue have been sold out, and half of the order is either not executed at all, or other goods are sent that do not suit the purchaser, and have to be returned or changed; in the latter case there is the same delay and disappointment, and by the time the right article has been received, it has cost more than if it had been obtained from Europe, with very little advantage in the matter of time, and with none in the matter of trouble and annoyance.

The introduction of the O. V.-P. Post cannot fail to have a good effect on the present system of shop-keeping, and as it is a subject that concerns the whole community, especially that portion of it which now so largely patronises the Inland V.-P. Post, it would surely be more to the point to canvas our opinion on it, as well as that of the trading community, who have everything to lose and nothing to gain by it; unless, indeed, they are wise enough to turn it to their own advantage.

A man who has been fairly treated by his Indian tradesmen would be only too glad to be spared the trouble of himself sending to Europe, if he could get what he wanted even through them. Every provincial tradesman will send to London for articles he cannot supply from his own stock; why should not the Indian tradesmen send to London in the same way?

War has long been waged in England against the cruel custom of making the shop-assistants stand all day behind the counter; the necessity for reform in this matter is even more urgent in India than in Europe, but how can the assistants hope for such a luxury as a seat when it is denied to the customers whom they serve? Can this be at the bottom of Messrs. A. and B.'s discourtesy to purchasers, or is it that they consider themselves too much on a par with them to stand while they sit?

Whatever the reason may be, I hope to see the day when this objectionable custom will be done away with, and when a few other necessary reforms will lessen the contrast between shopping in Europe and in India.

ART. VIII.—NADIR SHAH.

THE closing years of the 17th century inaugurated a very remarkable epoch in the history of more than one powerful empire; remarkable, I mean, not so much by reason of stirring events, or in what has been aptly called "drum and trumpet history," but rather in the comparatively silent confluence of those undercurrents and lesser streams which have so often and so suddenly, in the annals of the world, combined to create the cataract of rebellion, or swelled into the overwhelming flood of reform. Thus, looking first for the sake of historical parallel to Europe, we find that in England at the time of which I am writing, the despotism of the Stuart kings was sinking shortly, to be crushed by the revolution which culminated in the Battle of the Boyne. In Germany, the Electors of Brandenburg were paving the way for the assumption by the Hohenzollerns of the kingship of Prussia, an effort of ambition that was soon to bear splendid fruit in the career of Frederick the Great. In Russia, Peter Alexievitch was beginning in sharp-witted, semi-barbarian fashion, his own emancipation from his sister Sophia's rule, and the regeneration of his extensive realm. In Asia, the condition of affairs was even more significant. In India, nigh upon two centuries back, the Moghul chieftain, Baber, had crowned a romantic career by crossing the Indus at the head of only 10,000 men, uprooting the Afghan dominion, scattering to its mountain fastnesses the Rajput league, and setting up the first foundations of Moghul rule. Upheld by the consummate craft of Akbar, and surviving the vices of Jhangir and Shah Jehan, the empire of the Padishahs had continued at Delhi until its grandeur reached the zenith in the reign of the "Great Moghul," Aurangzeb. The end of the 17th century saw Mahomedan rule in India at the fulness of its power; in the beginning of the 18th, the death of Aurangzeb was the first indication of its decline and fall. Turning our attention to the country with which the subject of this article is more immediately concerned, we find Persia labouring under the pressure of events very similar to those which were slowly but surely overtaking Hindustan. Almost contemporaneous with the rule of the Moghuls at Delhi, and in many respects closely resembling it, the dynasty of Shiah fanatics known as the Sufi or Sufavean Shahs, harassed by Turks on the west by Russians on the north, by Afghans and Usbegs to the eastward, was now hurrying on to its end. The first real blow was to come from the east, and in 1710 we find the Afghans

of Kandahar throwing off the Persian yoke ; shortly afterwards Herat, too, was alienated ; and in 1722 the Afghans actually invaded Persia in force, besieged Isfahan, until the inhabitants were reduced to open cannibalism, and compelled Shah Husain, virtually, the last of the Sufavean dynasty, to abdicate, in favour of their own leader, Mahmud. But while these events were taking place in India, Persia and Afghanistan, there was coming to his prime a man who was destined to leave his mark very distinctly upon the history of all three nations ; a man who, by the force of circumstances, and of his own extraordinary ability, was to rise from utter obscurity to the most absolute power ; a man whose name is familiar to many, but whose history, in a connected and comprehensive form, is perhaps as little known to general readers as are the contents of the Ramayan, or the early annals of the Chinese Empire.

Nadir Kuli, as he was originally called,* was born on the 11th of November 1688, in a village on or not far from the Kalat-i-Nadiri plateau in Northern Khurasan. The exact locality of his birthplace is a point upon which his biographers do not agree. One says that Nadir was born at Abiurd or Bavard, the ruins of which are still to be found about 100 miles to the north of Mashhad. Another prefers the claim of "a castle named Destegerd" which apparently lay some 40 miles south of Abiurd, but of which no further mention can be found. Hanway, in evident ignorance of the relative positions of Mashhad and Kalat, speaks of the birthplace of Nadir as being a few days journey to the south-east of the former of these places, and not far from the latter. Personally, I would place reliance upon the testimony afforded by the memoirs of a Kashmiri, Khojeh Abdul Karim, who travelled with Nadir Shah on his return from India, and who declares that he actually visited, in company with Nadir himself, the real site of the conqueror's birthplace. This he states to have been a small village situated between Kalat and Abiurd, the original name of which has disappeared. When Nadir Kuli became Nadir Shah, a mosque was here erected, and the place called Mauludgah or "the birthplace." Although Nadir seems to have taken a personal interest in renovating and peopling it, the village never attained any importance ; and I can find no further mention of it either as Mauludgah, or as Jieyukabad, the name by which the village, according to Khojeh Abdul Karim, came afterwards to be called.

* Nadir Kuli means "the slave of the wonderful (God)." How the conqueror gained the title of Shah, as well as the name Tahmasp Kuli Khan, by which he is sometimes known, will be duly related in the succeeding narrative.

The name of Nadir's father was Imam Kuli, and he belonged to the Affshars, one of the seven Turkman tribes to whose aid Shah Ismail, the founder of the Sufavean dynasty, owed much of his success.* The Affshars, according to Morier, are divided into two principal branches, the Shamlu and the Karklu. Imam Kuli was a very humble member of the latter branch; and subsisted, so Hanway tells us, on the manufacture and sale of caps and sheepskin coats. He died when Nadir was thirteen years of age, leaving the boy to support himself and his widowed mother, by picking up sticks in the woods, and carrying them to market upon a camel and an ass, which formed his sole inheritance. This lowly and precarious existence continued until Nadir was seventeen when, in the year 1705, the Usbeks made a successful raid into Khurasan, and amongst those who were carried off, were Nadir and his mother. The latter succumbed to the hardships of Tartar slavery, † but the son succeeded in making his escape, and returned after an absence of four years to Khurasan.

From this time until he reached the age of twenty-four, we hear nothing of our hero beyond a passing and highly probable charge of sheep-stealing mentioned by Hanway, and by him alone. In 1712 we find Nadir entering the service of a petty chief or Beg in the humble capacity of courier. Here he began rapidly to exhibit symptoms of very doubtful morality. Not only is he said to have murdered, for reasons of his own, a fellow courier on the road to Isfahan, but he even had the audacity to aspire to the affection of his master's daughter. As the Beg declined to select a son-in-law from among his couriers, Nadir slew him and retired with the lady to the hills of Mazandaran. The result of this romantic union was a son known to history as Riza Kuli Mirza, five years after whose birth the Beg's daughter died. Meanwhile Nadir, having by his spirited procedure risen into reputation, was joined by some of his late fellow-servants, and, in the simple language of the historian, "they became robbers." In this profession Nadir continued some two years, on the expiration of which he offered his services as gentleman usher or master

* The remaining tribes were the Ustajalu, the Shamlu, the Nikarlu, the Baharlu, the Zuikadars and the Khajars of Astarabad. To these seven tribes as a body, Shah Ismail assigned the distinction of wearing a red cap, from which they received their Turkish name of *Kazilbashis*, or "golden-headed ones."

† Fraser speaks of her as still living in 1737, but the discrepancy is of no importance, unless, perhaps, as an example of the countless contradictions extending to the most petty details of Nadir's life, which the compiler of this article has had to either ignore or, as far as is possible, reconcile.

of ceremonies (Ishikgasi) to Babulu Khan, Beglerbeg, and Governor of Khurasan, whose head-quarters were at Mashhad. It is a striking commentary on the troubled state of Persia at this period, that a man whose open perpetration of murder and brigandage must, by this time, have been notorious, should have apparently experienced no sort of difficulty in obtaining Government employ. It was enough for Babulu Khan that the new officer of his household should be, as the world went, a man of parts; and if the question of Nadir's moral antecedents ever entered his head, it was doubtless silenced by the cogent argument that, with the Afghans supreme at Herat, and Usbegs continually raiding the Khurasan border, muscles and sharp wits were more susceptible of practical application than shining virtue. This line of reasoning proved a strong one, for Nadir soon rose into favour with the Beglerbeg, was first given command of a troop of horse, and then, by reason of his reckless gallantry in several frontier skirmishes, was raised to the comparatively important post of Mimbashi, or "commander of a thousand." Thus, gradually, in spite of humble birth, vicissitudes of fortune, and unlimited moral obliquity, this remarkable man had risen, until a sudden emergency enabled him for the first time to rise really superior to his surroundings, and as the commander, not of a thousand, but of an army, to win his first victory in an action of far greater importance than a frontier skirmish or a robber raid.

When Nadir had been about five years in the service of Babulu Khan, that is in 1719, the Usbeg Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva, thinking to profit by the rising power of the Afghans as well as by the incursions which the Kurds were now making in Irak Ajami, determined on carrying out a really comprehensive sack of Khurasan. Accordingly they appeared on the border and commenced systematic operations with a strength of 10,000 or 12,000 horse. The Beglerbeg at Mashhad, thus called upon to defend his province, was at his wits' end. His force amounted to only 4,000 cavalry and 2,000 footmen, and there was absolutely no chance of reinforcement. He therefore called a council of his officers and asked their advice. The majority declared themselves in favour of "*saure qui peut*;" but the irrepressible Nadir, with, considering his position, vast presumption, boldly counselled war to the death, and offered to take charge of the whole available force. It was significant of the times that this modest proposal was acceded to without much demur, and in a few days Nadir set forth, a temporary yet full-blown General, to encounter the dreaded Tartar cavalry. Meeting them on the banks of the Tajand, or Hari Rud, some five or six marches to the east of Mashhad, and having done his best to make his

own men underrate the enemy's strength, he stood on the defensive. With their accustomed fury the Tartars charged, but the Persians, exhorted by their young leader, amongst whose characteristics was a voice of terrific volume, bravely withstood the shock. Thrown into disorder by this most unexpected result, the Tartars failed to rally, and were actually put to flight. A signal rout ensued, and fired with triumph and now fully roused ambition, the young conqueror of thirty-two returned at the head of his victorious Persians to Mashhad.

But Nadir's road to power was fated to be anything but a royal one. On his arrival at Mashhad, he was not slow to demand of Babulu Khan that he should be confirmed in the command which he had held, as a temporary measure, with such credit, and the Beglerbeg assured him that the court of Isfahan should be duly moved to bring this about. Either, however, the recommendation was not approved, or, what, from the result, appears more probable, Babulu Khan played a double game. For Nadir shortly found that his services were to go for nought, and to accentuate the disappointment, the substantive command which he so coveted, and, with some justice, considered as his due, was given to one of the Beglerbeg's own relatives, a youth without either ability or experience. At this treatment Nadir was furious, and he, at once and openly, accused the Beglerbeg of having acted in a dishonourable manner. Babulu Khan retorted by having the rebellious officer soundly bastinadoed, and depriving him even of his command of a thousand. Thus, after five years of good service, culminating in a victory which saved a whole province from frightful devastation, Nadir found himself disgraced and turned adrift. Having digested the lesson that to put trust in princes, more especially Oriental ones, is unprofitable, Nadir retired from Mashhad only to display anew, and in a more favourable sphere, his characteristic contempt of constituted authority, and his marvellous capacity for controlling and leading men.

The splendid natural fortress of Kalat, of which Sir Charles MacGregor has given a detailed description in his "Journey through Khorasan," lies some 50 miles to the north-east of Mashhad. Of this fortress the Kiladar, or governor, was, in 1720, Nadir's uncle, a chief of one of the Affshar clans.*

* How it comes that, this notwithstanding, Nadir's own parentage had been so mean, is difficult of explanation. But it is, I think, better to accept the story as it stands than to give credence to Fraser's tale, that Nadir's father had been governor of Kalat, and that on his death the uncle had stepped in and deprived Nadir of his hereditary right. This version, though romantic, is unsupported, and, moreover, does not tally with the frank allusions made by Nadir himself in after years to the extreme humbleness of his early surroundings and extraction.

Hitherto Nadir, after his disgrace at Mashhad, naturally turned his steps, and was received with kindness, or at any rate tolerated. But still restless and aspiring, he could not abstain from intrigue, and having apparently been detected in designs against his relative and host, he found it expedient, in 1721, to leave Kalat and resume his old trade of brigandage. This time his career as a robber-chief lasted for five or six years, during which we have no detailed information respecting his movements, except that, until the commencement of the year 1727, his operations were conducted with characteristic vigour and success. But now I must for a moment turn aside from Nadir and his doings in Khurasan, to dwell on the progress of history in Persia generally.

We have already seen that in 1722—the year after that in which Nadir had left Kalat, and commenced his second career as a robber-chief—the Afghans had invaded Persia, captured Isfahan, and forced the reigning Shah, Husain, to abdicate. Those who desire a closer acquaintance with these events must be referred to the pages of Malcolm or to the Turkish *Tarikh-i-Siah*, of which an English translation exists under the title of “Chronicles of a Traveller.” For the purposes of this narrative, it is sufficient to record that during the siege of Isfahan, Tahmasp, the son of Shah Husain, had made his escape from the city with a view to gathering forces outside, and with their assistance raising the siege. This result he was unable to accomplish, but on hearing of the fall of Isfahan, and the abdication and imprisonment of his father, he assumed the title of Shah, and endeavoured to keep up a semblance of sovereign power. A poor travesty of sovereignty it must have been, for Tahmasp was a weak and effeminate prince, and the Afghans at Isfahan were not the only foreigners with whom he had to dispute the possession of his empire. For, under Peter the Great and Catharine I, the Russians were absorbing the western coast of the Caspian, including a large portion of the province of Ghilan; while the Turks coming into conflict with the Afghans, were preparing to bring under Ottoman rule the whole of Kurdistan and Khuzistan, part of Azarbaijan, and several cities in Irak. To the eastward the prospect, from Tahmasp’s point of view, was equally gloomy. Persian supremacy had long ago ceased to exist at Kandahar; Herat was a separate and independent principality under the Abdali Chief, Azadullah; and even Khurasan, which had hitherto remained unvexed, save by Tartar raids, had in great measure succumbed to the Afghan Governor of Seistan, Malik Mahmud, and into his hands yielded the rich and important cities of Mashhad and Nishapur. Under these circumstances, Tahmasp’s assumption of the title of Shah seemed rather a feeble farce. Everything,

moreover, went against him. He tried to negotiate with both Russia and Turkey, but those two nations were too deeply interested in a mutual "partition" treaty, having reference to the greater part of the Shah's dominions, to pay much attention to his ambassadors. Even when Tahmasp had succeeded in collecting the nucleus of an army, a check awaited him, for one of his generals, with whom he had had a misunderstanding, made no scruple to desert and to take with him 1,500 men, whither we shall presently see. As a last resource the unhappy prince was fain to seek an undignified refuge behind the mountains of Mazandaran. Here, holding a little court at Farahabad on the shores of the Caspian, under the protection of Fath Ali Khan, chief of the Kizilbash Khajars of Astarabad, the unworthy survival of the Sufi Shahs, in 1727, seemed, in all human probability, to be entering on the last phase of his useless and miserable career.

This state of things was, as may be imagined, extremely favourable to Nadir's operations in Khurasan. From 1721 to 1727 he must have been able to harry and carry much as he pleased, and in that time contrived to gather round him a band nearly, if not quite, a thousand strong. With this force he was probably able to defy even the Afghan invader of Khurasan, Malik Mahmud, and one day when he was hovering about the neighbourhood of his uncle's fortress at Kalat, his strength was suddenly nearly trebled. That General, whose desertion from Tahmasp was noticed in the preceding paragraph, found he could not do better with his contingent of 1,500 men than bring them to Nadir, who thus became the leader of what in his hands, was quite a little army. This took place in the early part of 1727, and from that date Nadir's career as a really public character may be said to begin.

His nephew's increasing power and dangerous proximity, at last roused the serious apprehensions of the governor of Kalat. He began to think that, perhaps, it would be wise now to let bygones be bygones, and to make friendly advances to his formidable relative. Accordingly he wrote to Nadir, and suggested that there was now an excellent chance for a man with men at his back to gain distinction in the loyal and lawful service of Tahmasp. That prince would doubtless overlook the peccadilloes of Nadir and his following in consideration of meritorious deeds to come; and he (the uncle) would gladly do his best to obtain actually, in writing, the royal pardon. Nadir received this proposal, apparently, with entire compliance, and begged his uncle to communicate forthwith with the Shah—for so we must, perhaps, allow him to be called—at Farahabad. The uncle did so. Tahmasp with alacrity signed

the pardon, and the document was duly despatched, first to Kalat, and thence to Nadir himself. The latter, probably, much amused to find himself no longer an outlaw, at once set out for Kalat, presumably anxious to thank his uncle for his kind assistance and to cement the bonds of future friendship. But Nadir was a man who never hesitated to combine business with sentiment. Accordingly he took with him into Kalat an escort of 100 picked men, having commissioned 500 more to hang about in readiness as near as possible to the fortress gates. The uncle received Nadir and his following most warmly, doubtless trusting to his own garrison of some 200 men, to keep the balance of power between himself and his guest. But these roseate expectations were doomed to be upset. For, on the second night after the new-comers' arrival, the sentries over the barracks of the garrison were suddenly overpowered, and the doors of the barracks themselves securely closed upon their occupants. Nadir himself went to his uncle's room and killed him, subsequently opening the gates of the fortress to the 500 men who were waiting in reserve outside. The next morning Nadir, at the cost of very little bloodshed, beyond that which had stained his own unscrupulous hands, was master of that extraordinary natural stronghold which was from henceforth to be associated with his name. The remainder of his forces thronged in from outside to support him, and for a few weeks he remained at Kalat consolidating his strength, and by politic generosity winning to his side many of his fellow-tribesmen and relations who had hitherto regarded him only as a detestable robber.

Nadir was now, to all intents and purposes, an independent sovereign, and had he wished it, could no doubt have lived in much more regal circumstance than did the wretched Tahmasp at Farhabad, or even the Afghan leader at Isfahan. But this was not by any means his policy. Although he had by his recent exploit completely forfeited the royal pardon, it was still Nadir's intention to throw in his lot with Tahmasp. As a preliminary measure, it was necessary to perform some peculiarly meritorious act which should serve as a foil to the outrageous crime he had just committed. It was characteristic of Nadir's career that an opportunity should be ready to his hand. The city of Nishapur, which lies some 60 miles to the west of Mashhad, was in the hands of the Afghans, and occupied by a garrison about 3,000 strong. To recapture it in the name of Shah Tahmasp would cover a multitude of sins; and, apparently, in a few days the thing was done. By a simple stratagem Nadir enticed the Afghans into a defile, cut them to pieces and entered Nishapur where he made his first essay in the art of statesmanship. He had come, he said, not to plunder but

to deliver ; not to gain power for himself but in the interests of Persia's rightful sovereign. These noble sentiments coupled with the fact that only the effects of the late Afghan garrison were looted, and that these were duly divided among Nadir's soldiery, were full of conviction. Nearly a thousand of the Persian inhabitants hastened to enrol themselves under a leader so humane, so generous, and so full of loyalty to a fallen cause.

The capture of Nishapur was rapidly followed by a complete *entente cordiale* between Nadir and Tahmasp. To this result, it is probable that the good offices of Fath Ali Khan Khajar, the "protector" of Tahmasp, greatly contributed. For Fath Ali Khan was, apparently, like the quondam governor of Kalat, beginning to look upon Nadir as a man to be cultivated, while no doubt he imagined that his own prestige and his surrounding of faithful Khajars would be more than sufficient to keep the late robber-chief at a respectful distance. And for a while it seemed as if this was the case, for Nadir on arriving at Farahabad and receiving the King's pardon for himself and his following, now some 5,000 in number, conducted himself with studied propriety, and treated both the King and Fath Ali Khan with unwonted deference. But this state of things could not last. Nadir, with an army at his back, was hardly the man to be always bowing and scraping to one, in no way, except perhaps morally his superior, and accordingly after a few simple intrigues in which the discontent of the troops and a charge of treasonable correspondence with Malik Mahmud, are somewhat indistinctly involved, Fath Ali Khan fell a victim to the new arrival's ambition. As a natural consequence, we find at the commencement of 1728, Nadir raised to the rank of Khan, in command of the whole Persian army, such as it was, and, practically speaking, with the only available representative of the royal house of Persia completely under his thumb.

Having thus attained to a position only comparable with that of a Lord Protector or a Mahratta Peishwa, Nadir's first thought was naturally his army. Though destined to prove worthy of their leader, this army, when the latter first took their organization seriously in hand, must have been in a sorry plight. A motley discontented crew, of miscellaneous extraction, officered with a happy disregard of military considerations, they had no sacred soup-kettles around which, like the Janissaries, they could rally, no lurid glow of religious fervour to warm them as had Cromwell's Ironsides, no empire to put up to auction as had the Prætorian Guard of Rome. But they had stomachs to fill and backs to cover, and Nadir effectually won their hearts and laid the foundations of future discipline by introducing a system of regular payments made in his

own presence, and by supplying uniform at first cost. With the officers he put in practice the principle scientifically known as "the survival of the fittest." These simple but drastic measures had the desired effect, and seemingly in a few weeks, from the death of Fath Ali Khan Khajar, Nadir was ready to enter upon the first step of his career as the deliverer of Persia, the expulsion, namely, of the Afghans under Malik Mahmud from the holy city of Mashhad in particular, and, in general, from the whole province of Khurasan. But before a move could be made to the east, it was necessary to come to a settlement with the Turks who were, as has already been seen, operating aggressively in the westward and north-westward provinces. The Turks having made some peaceful advances, Shah Tahmasp, doubtless instructed by Nadir, now suggested that he himself would refer the matter to Constantinople, and that in the meantime a truce should be declared, the Turks binding themselves not to exceed the limits of their present conquests. The Turks complied, and Tahmasp accordingly despatched a messenger to the Porte with offers of accommodation which he knew would not be accepted, and, to render assurance doubly sure, the messenger was enjoined to fall sick on the road, and otherwise to delay a return to active hostilities as long as possible. This truly oriental plan for gaining time having been put in train, no further obstacle lay in the way of the expedition, and accordingly Tahmasp and Nadir marched forth from behind the mountains of Mazandaran with an army which may be conjectured as being little less than 15,000 strong.

The details of this expedition are somewhat obscure. It may, however, be gathered that on the 15th May 1728, Tahmasp and his General made a stately entry into Nishapur, that city which Nadir had cleansed from Afghans as a palliation for the murder of his uncle. This was rapidly followed by the recapture of Mashhad either, as some say, after a siege of two months and through treachery, or, according to others, by the simpler process of entire evacuation by the Afghan garrison. The remainder of the year 1728 was spent by Nadir in completing the work so finely begun. Taking Mashhad as his head-quarters, and leaving Tahmasp to enjoy his regained dignity and comfort in the pious vicinity of Imam Reza's tomb, Nadir darted hither and thither through the surrounding districts, not hesitating even to lead his soldiery, lance in hand, over that great salt desert, of which MacGregor and other travellers have given us realistic descriptions. The intimate knowledge of the country, which he had gained in former years, stood him in good stead, and by the end of 1728 the whole of Khurasan was in great measure, if not entirely, quit of the doubtful blessings of Afghan occupation.

Owing to the embryonic condition of the Imperial exchequer, these varied successes did not bring Nadir any substantial reward. The sole guerdon he received for the recovery of Mashhad was the privilege accorded to him by the grateful Shah of calling himself Tahmasp Kuli Khan in place of his original appellation; in other words, by a strange irony, "the slave of the wonderful God," became the slave of a weak and vicious nonentity. Moreover, it was not long before Tahmasp made a puny effort to do away with the necessity for gratitude even of a nominal description. One day when Nadir was on one of his incursions into the surrounding country, Tahmasp from Mashhad sent him an order to return at once to head-quarters. This mandate being both unreasonable and inconvenient, Nadir quietly disregarded it. Thereupon Tahmasp in dudgeon retired from Mashhad with his immediate following, and from a neighbouring fort fulminated a circular letter declaring Nadir guilty of high treason and a rebel. The display of a little firmness on Nadir's part, however, soon convinced Tahmasp of his mistake, and in a very short time the General was escorting the recalcitrant monarch and his court with solemn deference back to Mashhad.

Towards the end of 1728, or in the beginning of the following year, Nadir turned his attention to Herat, the subjection of which to the Abdali Afghans has been noticed in a previous paragraph. The accounts of the expedition, as given by the various authorities, are hopelessly contradictory. It may, however, be concluded that Herat, which had fallen a prey to Chenghiz Khan and Timur, now opened its gates without much ado to the triumphant Nadir. The conqueror does not seem to have taken much advantage of his success. In fact, he appears to have allowed the Abdali Chiefship to continue, and only to have extorted tribute and acknowledgment of the supremacy of Shah Tahmasp. This done, he returned about the middle of 1729 to Mashhad, whence he was presently to set forth on the greatest enterprise he had as yet attempted, the extirpation of the Afghans from Isfahan itself.

At that city the progress of affairs during the past seven years had been anything but monotonous. After the fall of Isfahan in 1722, Mahmud, the Afghan conqueror, had for a short time, behaved as a humane ruler and a good statesman. But the annihilation of several parties of his Afghans who had been detached to reduce Kasvin, Khonsar, and other desirable towns, placed him in a very critical situation, and drove him to retaliatory measures of the most wholesale and barbarous description. Two fearful massacres, one of Persian nobles and their male children, another of 3,000 of Shah Hussain's former guards whom Mahmud had taken into pay

and treated with much kindness, were followed by a general order to put to death every Persian who had served the former Government. The bloodshed and rapine that ensued must have been indescribable. After fifteen days the Kurds had to be called in to re-people the city, since hardly a live Persian remained in Isfahan. Somewhat relieved by these sanguinary measures, Mahmud was enabled to subdue Gulpaigan, Khonsar, Kashan, and several other cities in Irak, and subsequently to make himself master of Shiraz. But disappointment at the smallness of the reinforcements he was receiving from Kandahar, the failure of an attack on Yazd, and the mutinous attitude of his own troops, counterbalanced the effect of these successes. After a savage massacre of the males of the royal house of Persia from which only the ex-Shah Hussain and his two youngest sons escaped, Mahmud went mad, died, and was succeeded by his cousin Ashraf. The latter soon proved himself a statesman and a soldier of no mean repute. At Isfahan he established a strong internal government, and built a fort which, to this day, bears his name. He captured both Karman and Yazd from which Mahmud had been repulsed; and after a lively conflict with the Turks he actually prevailed upon the Porte to recognise him as the lawful head of the Persian Empire. But in this promising career he was suddenly checked by the tidings of Nadir's doings in Khurasan. For Shah Tahmasp, Ashraf entertained a profound and justifiable contempt, but he was quick to perceive that Nadir was not to be trifled with, and accordingly, in the autumn of 1729, he set out with 30,000 men, of whom more than a half were Afghans, *en route* for Mashhad.

Nadir pleased to find that the struggle was to take place, so to speak, on his own ground, advanced from Mashhad and met his enemy on the 2nd October 1729 at Damghan, which lies 50 miles nearly due south of Astarabad. The Afghans commenced the engagement with a furious charge, but were repulsed. Ashraf then tried to outflank his opponent, but was again foiled, and Nadir, seizing the moment for a general advance, sent the Afghans flying in headlong confusion towards Teheran. A second engagement took place on the 15th November at Murchakar, a village 30 miles north of Isfahan, where Ashraf awaited the Persians in a strong position. This time the offensive was taken by Nadir who carried the Afghan entrenchments with a loss to the enemy of 4,000 men. The defeated Ashraf fell back upon Isfahan, whence, after putting to death the unhappy ex-Shah Hussain who had so long been his prisoner, he retired or rather retreated to Shiraz. Three days after the fight at Murchakar, Nadir entered Isfahan, whither he was presently followed by Tahmasp whom he had

left under pretext of solicitude for the imperial person at Teheran. Urged by Tahmasp to complete the obliteration of the Afghans, Nadir now flatly refused to stir, unless the Shah conceded to him the right of levying money for the payment of the troop in his own name. Though sensible of the deep significance of this concession, Tahmasp had no option but to grant it, whereupon Nadir hastened to carry out the imperial behests. Disregarding the severity of the weather and the want of supplies—for Ashraf in his retreat had devastated the province of Fars with Afghan thoroughness—he dashed southward and dealt the death-blow of the Afghan invasion by the recovery of Shiraz. The last stand which the Afghans attempted was near the ruins of Persepolis, and this eventuated rather in a rout than in a battle. After the reduction of Shiraz the Afghans simply melted away, those few who escaped death ending their lives in miserable captivity. Ashraf himself after nearly being betrayed at Shiraz, by his own followers into Nadir's hands, was slain by a Balochi while attempting to regain his native country through the deserts of Seistan.

Nadir had entered Shiraz in the early part of 1730, and for about two months he remained there, no doubt enjoying the honours and rewards that now poured thick upon him. Already the Governor of Khurasan, he now acquired three other fine provinces, Karman, Seistan and Mazandaran. To these Tahmasp added the hand of his own aunt in marriage, and the title of Sultan. The latter Nadir refused, but began to give a taste of his ideas on the subject by causing money to be coined in his own name. These diversions, however, soon gave way before more serious business. It has already been noted that just before the expedition to Khurasan a truce was effected with the Turks, binding them for the present to abstain from further hostilities. Whether the *raison d'être* of this truce was now at an end, whether the Turks, as one authority declares, had violated it by giving help to Ashraf, or whether the blame of the rupture rests with Nadir, the garbled accounts of the various historians render extremely doubtful. One thing, however, is certain, and this is, that after a short rest at Shiraz, Nadir marched northward upon Hamadan where, encountering the combined forces of two Turkish Pashas, he completely defeated them and made himself master of the surrounding country, including the city of Karmanshah. Not satisfied with this he proceeded still further north into, Azarbaijan, and recovered Tabriz and Ardabil. The Turks now sued for a truce which Nadir was glad to grant, inasmuch as he had just received from his brother, whom he had left in charge of the government of Khurasan, tidings to the effect that the Abdali Afghans were again giving trouble, and that Herat once more had shaken off the Persian yoke.

The necessity of suppressing this rebellion was at once recognized by Nadir as paramount. Striking eastwards he reached Kasvin on the 17th August, and shortly after, in a pitched battle, defeated the Abdalis, probably in the vicinity of Mashhad, which a Persian historian tells us they had again occupied. Reaching Mashhad in October, Nadir spent the remainder of the year 1730 in arranging the details of his provincial government, and in drilling his troops. In the beginning of 1731 the marriage of Nadir's son, Riza Kuli, with Fatima, the sister of Tahmasp, was solemnized with much pomp and rejoicing, and on the 14th March, Nadir left Mashhad and marched on Herat which he reached on the 2nd April. This city he proceeded to invest, while his brother marched down and captured Farah. The blockade of Herat lasted till the close of 1731, when, to avoid an inevitable assault, the garrison surrendered. This opportunity was seized by Nadir to initiate that policy of tribal transplantation with which his later government is closely associated. There were many portions of Khurasan which required population, and to these the Afghans of Herat were accordingly deported. The captured city was occupied by a Persian garrison, and Nadir returned to Mashhad to prepare for a renewal of hostilities with the Turks.

But in the meantime events had been transpiring which were calculated in one sense to upset Nadir's plans, and in another, to forward them with unlooked-for celerity. No sooner had Nadir's face turned Khurasan-wards after the capture of Ardabil and Tabriz, than Tahmasp, encouraged by counsellors, of a mental calibre similar to his own, conceived the wild idea of taking the extirpation of the Turks into his own hands. Accordingly, in October 1730, he left Isfahan, and marched first to Tabriz, and thence over the mountains into Georgia. By the end of February 1731 he arrived at Erivan, whence he was promptly repulsed by Ali Pasha, and chased back to Tabriz. Abandoning the latter city, he made a last effort to assert himself at Hamadan, to which Ahmad Pasha of Baghdad, a good soldier and a clever politician, was preparing to lay siege. Here again completely defeated, Tahmasp finally retired to Kasvin, having lost in a few weeks all the ground that Nadir had spent months to win. Meanwhile, in Constantinople, the Turkish reverses of the previous year had brought about a lively insurrection, resulting in the dethronement of Ahmad III. and his supersession by Muhammad V. The mortality and general inconvenience consequent upon this insurrection made the Porte anxious for a settlement of their affairs in Persia. Accordingly, the Pasha of Baghdad was instructed to make peace, and on the 16th January 1732, shortly after Nadir had entered Herat, a treaty was agreed upon and

subsequently ratified at Isfahan, whither the crest-fallen Shah had proceeded from Kasvin, and where he now commenced disbanding the relics of his army. By this treaty the river Aras became the northern boundary of Persia and Georgia, and even five districts of Karmanshah fell into the hands of Turkey.

When the news of these doings reached Nadir he was, to outward seeming, at any rate, furious. Not only did he expostulate loudly with Tahmasp and urge him to cancel the dishonorable treaty he had made, but he even published, in all the principal cities of the Empire, a proclamation in which he clearly stated his intention of repudiating the concessions by force of arms. Finding that Tahmasp shewed no signs of taking action, Nadir, who in the meantime had arranged with Russia to withdraw from Ghilan, and had, moreover, by Tartar and other levies, brought his army up to a strength of sixty or seventy thousand, now left his son Riza Kuli in charge of Khurasan, and set out for the capital. Before starting he sent to Constantinople a laconic message, "Restore the provinces of Persia or prepare for war." And another to Ahmad Pasha of Baghdad to the effect, that the "Deliverer of Persia" was approaching. He arrived at Isfahan on the 16th August 1732.

The events of the next few days were highly dramatic. A pretended reconciliation between Nadir and the Shah; copious intrigues between Nadir and the leading nobles; the invitation of the King to a review of Nadir's troops at which the latter appear to have expressed their sentiments pretty freely, are the opening scenes of the comedy. The review is followed by a banquet, at which Tahmasp gets drunk, and from which he is removed in not very imperial fashion. The next morning his deposition is proclaimed; he is sent under a strong guard of anti-Persian proclivities to Sabzawar; his infant son aged eight months is made king under the title of Abbas III; and Nadir Kuli Khan becomes *de facto et de jure* regent of the Persian Empire.

After a few days spent in superintending the coronation rites, Nadir sallied forth to carry out his threats against the Turks. Commencing the campaign with the recovery of Karmanshah, he proceeded thence to Baghdad, where Ahmad Pasha, in anticipation of his approach had prepared for a stubborn defence. Drawing his lines round the city, Nadir, whose army must now have numbered 70,000 or 80,000 men, attempted to starve his enemy into surrender. But meanwhile the Turks at Constantinople had not been idle. The horse's tail had been duly hung out at the Seraglio, and at the signal, an army fully as great as Nadir's had been collected, and placed under the command of a man of most conspicuous merit, Osman Pasha, forenamed Topal or "the Lame." Eager to relieve his gallant

brother Pasha, Osman lost no time in advancing first to Diabekr, and thence along the banks of the Tigris towards Baghdad. At his approach Nadir left 12,000 men in his trenches, and marched out north-westward some 50 miles, until with the bulk of his army he reached a village on the bank of the Tigris called Samara. Here, in a sandy plain, on the 19th July 1733, ensued a notable battle which lasted eight hours, and finally resulted in a hard-won victory for the Turkish Pasha. The Persians fled in confusion, and Nadir himself, who during the action had twice had his horse shot under him, could not rally them until they arrived at Hamadan which, from Baghdad, is some 250 miles. Ahmad Pasha now added a crowning touch to the rout by sallying forth from Baghdad upon the 12,000 men whom Nadir had left in the trenches before that city, and sending them in disastrous retreat to join the runaways from the field of Samara.

To the general run of oriental leaders, probably, such a crushing reverse as this would have been utter ruin. But Nadir's genius and knowledge of men was equal to the emergency. Arriving at Hamadan he treated his shattered troops just as if they had gained an important victory; he publicly acknowledged the error he had made in leaving the trenches before Baghdad, and going out to meet Osman; and he despatched a courteous message to Ahmad Pasha to the effect that, far from being crushed, he would be ready, in the early part of the following year, to try conclusions once more with the Turkish army. He was much better than his word, for, in less than four months, he again took the field, and, on the 26th October, succeeded, thanks to intrigues at Constantinople which had left Osman Pasha without money and reinforcements, in completely defeating his former conqueror. The gallant old Pasha fell on the field of battle, and Ahmad, now seeing it was hopeless to continue the defence of Baghdad, suggested peace. The terms of the treaty being agreed upon, a period of three months elapsed before the ratification thereof could be obtained from Constantinople. This interval was employed by Nadir in suppressing an insurrection raised in Fars by Muhammad Khan Baluchi, and in acquainting Russia with the success he had met with in his last campaign against the Turks. It will benefit the continuity of this narrative, if I anticipate so far as to note, that this was the first of a series of negotiations with Russia, which resulted some two years later in a friendly surrender of all the Muscovite conquests on the lower coast of the Caspian, and in the evacuation even of Derbend. Returning to the Turks, we find in the early part of 1734, that Ahmad Pasha's device for gaining time had succeeded fully. The Porte had refused to ratify the treaty, and in accordance with

their policy of never making peace, unless they had an army actually in the field, had hastily collected a fresh force under the command of Abdulla Pasha of Cairo. But Turkish policy collapsed before the now well matured strategy of the Persian regent. Abandoning all hope of capturing Baghdad so long as Ahmad Pasha lived to defend it, Nadir dashed northward into Georgia and Armenia, and in a brilliant campaign captured Tiflis and Ganjah (the modern Elizabetopol), and in June 1735 decisively defeated Abdulla on the plain of Baghavand, near Erivan. This, for the nonce, was the deathblow of Turkish aggression, and the preliminaries of a peace, based on the terms formerly proposed by Ahmad Pasha, which provided for the cession of all the Turkish conquests in Persia during the reign of Shah Husain, were soon arranged at Erzeroum. Malcolm informs us that this peace was concluded at the end of 1735, the intervening three months being employed by Nadir in subduing the Lesghis, a fierce and turbulent tribe, infesting the mountains that separate Georgia from the Caspian Sea; but Hanway, who is generally reliable, clearly states that the conference at Erzeroum was a protracted one, and that it was not until the latter part of 1736 that the Porte finally yielded up the lands which it had cost such an effort and so much reckless bloodshed to retain.

The year 1736 was fated to prove the most eventful one of Nadir's life. Long before this he must have cherished the thought of actually becoming Shah: but his rude natural sense was far too good to let him be premature in so serious a matter as the usurpation of a throne. For the Sufavean dynasty had, in spite of the misfortunes of Husain and the fatuous imbecility of Tahmasp, gained a very firm hold upon a people with whom oppression meant obedience, and whom ignorance made conservative. As long as even the shadow of a Shah of the house of Ismail remained in even vicarious enjoyment of the throne, usurpation was for Nadir a dangerous, if not fatal expedient. But the close of the year 1735 saw this obstacle removed by the death of the baby king who had been crowned, and who appears in some lists of the Persian Shahs as Abbas III. Of this opportunity Nadir was prompt to take advantage. In his capacity as regent, he invited the Persian nobility to a grand conference on the famous Moghan plain in northern Azarbaijan. Here, with his army at his back, he suggested that Persia was in want of a sovereign; the choice of a new Shah he left in the hands of those present; should they be unable to find a member of the royal house worthy of the dignity, he begged them to allow only greatness and virtue to influence their selection. The *finale* of the farce is a foregone conclusion. Solemnly the nobles retired to ponder

over the selection of their new ruler ; meekly they returned to beg Nadir himself, the deliverer of their country, to become its king. As a matter of course Nadir, protesting that such an idea had never entered his head, declined the proffered dignity. Day after day the offer, or rather entreaty, was repeated, until at last the Regent, overcome by popular clamour, coyly consented, upon certain conditions, to accept the title and attributes of Shah. These conditions were, according to a contemporary biographer, firstly, that after his death his own line should have hereditary right to the kingship ; secondly, that to take up arms in favour of the late dynasty should be considered high treason ; and, lastly, that as the Shiah heresy introduced by the Sufi Shahs had only been productive of national misfortunes, the Persian people should now return to the Sunni orthodoxy, and duly acknowledge the authority of the four Khalifs. This last condition was, of course, by far the most exacting, and one, the reason for which at first sight it is difficult to explain, seeing that Nadir himself had hitherto been a warm partisan of the Shiah sect. Malcolm is perhaps correct in surmising that Nadir was naturally anxious to stamp out every trace of association with the dynasty into whose shoes he was about to step : for myself, I see no reason why Nadir should not be credited with an honest desire to do his country lasting good, by thus abolishing an undoubted heresy and restoring the religious as well as temporal equality of Persia with the rest of the Muhammadan world. Be this as it may, Nadir was evidently in earnest in insisting upon his conditions which, without much ado, were presently accepted ; and on the 26th February 1736, the son of the Khurasani cap-maker, Nadir, "the slave of Tahmasp," amid the acclamation of humbled nobles and a well-paid army, became Nadir Shah.

Shortly after his coronation Nadir, having dispatched an ambassador to the Porte with tidings of the religious innovation he had just accomplished, and allotted the several provinces of the Empire to suitable Governors, marched down to Kasvin, and thence to Isfahan. Here he at once commenced preparations for a campaign in the far east against the Afghans of Kandahar, where he was determined upon restoring the Persian supremacy. Before, however, starting upon this expedition, he found time to chastise the Bakhtiyaris, a wild mountain tribe, which in a single month he compelled to confess that their rocky fastnesses were no longer impregnable. After the capture and death of their leader, a number of these mountaineers entered Nadir's army, and subsequently proved themselves extremely serviceable. Returning to Isfahan, Nadir, on the 12th November 1736, started thence ~~via~~ Karman and Seistan for Kandahar. Crossing the Helmand, on the 12th

February 1737, he blockaded Kandahar by the simple but expensive process of building close to it another town which was named in his honour. Nadirabad. In the meantime he sent repeated messengers to the reigning Moghul at Delhi, Muhammad, asking him on no account to give shelter to Afghan refugees. Kandahar fell, chiefly owing to the reckless bravery of the Bakhtiyaris at the end of March 1738, and having deported into Persia a large number of the Afghan captives, Nadir turned his attention to an enterprise assuredly the most famous, though not the noblest in his whole career. Regardless of Nadir's repeated messengers, Muhammad, the besotted survival of the wisdom of Akbar and the splendour of Aurangzeb, had not in any way troubled himself to prevent Afghans from taking refuge in his dominions; and doubtless glad of the pretext thus afforded, Nadir now conceived the magnificent project of swooping down into India, through Afghanistan, and by force of arms compelling the Moghul Emperor to appreciate his existence and respect his name.

Leaving Kandahar at the beginning of May 1738, Nadir Shah captured in quick succession Ghazni and Kabul, and remained in the plains around the latter city until the middle of June. Hence he sent an ultimatum to the Delhi Emperor; but his envoy was killed at Jalalabad, a circumstance not calculated to deter Nadir from his advance. Pushing on to Gandamak, which he reached on the 28th July, and thence to Jalalabad, where he seems to have halted some two months, Nadir came to a satisfactory understanding with the tribes of the Khaibar Pass, whose assistance has been ever at the service of a liberal paymaster. Meanwhile, a gallant officer of the Moghul, named Nasir Khan, was preparing to defend Peshawar; but thanks to his new allies, Nadir's appearance was a sudden one, and Nasir Khan's troops were demoralised. After the capture of Peshawar Nadir's work was easy. A victory at Wazirabad was followed by the capitulation of Lahore, and on the 15th February 1739, Nadir Shah decisively defeated the forces of the Moghul on the plain between the Ali Mardan canal and the river Jumna. Four days later Muhammad made submission to the Persian invader, and a compromise was made by which, in consideration of a large sum of ready money, Nadir was to have refrained from making any further advance. Being, however, advised that the proposed sum was nothing compared to the treasures of Delhi, Nadir suspended the negotiations and marched on the Moghul capital, which he entered on the 8th March. Here he prepared to collect a gigantic subsidy, having in the meantime, enjoined his troops to be on their best behaviour. On the 10th March, however, a tragic interruption was caused by a disturbance in the city, followed by a rumour

that Nadir Shah was slain. The infuriated populace fell on the Persian soldiery and massacred as many as they could lay their hands on. On the morning of the 11th, Nadir rode out with a strong guard, and was filled with rage at the sight of the corpses of his troops. As he rode on, a shot fired from a window killed an officer at his side; and in a moment of passion Nadir gave the word for a general massacre. Over the result of this order it is best to draw a veil. From eight o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, the work of sack and carnage was carried out with ghastly energy. Not until over 100,000 men, women, and children had perished, did Nadir, sitting on the top of a mosque in the Chandni Chauk, give ear to the intercession of the Moghul Emperor, and put a stop to one of the most awful massacres that has ever stained the annals of the world.

The remaining events of Nadir's stay in India are naturally tame in comparison with this extensive tragedy. For a time the conqueror seems to have devoted himself solely to the collection of a tribute of Oriental magnificence. Contributions were levied on every side, Nadir exhibiting a rapacity hitherto unnoticed in his character. He even confiscated the peacock throne of the Moghul Emperors, and the great diamond, the Kuhl-i-Nur, the possession of which, according to Mrs. Burton, is such a questionable boon. But Nadir did not leave India without displaying a few flashes of that rude statesmanship which characterises his career. He reinstated Muhammad in his empire and possessions, and exhorted the Muhammadan nobility, on the penalty of a second invasion, to remain faithful to the imperial house of Timur; and as a set-off to this, he married his second son to Muhammad's niece, and obtained the cession to Persia of all territories west of the Indus, which had previously belonged to the Moghul. Finally, in May 1739, he relieved Delhi of his presence, and returned, by very easy stages to Kabul, which he reached towards the end of November. Hence he found it necessary to make a rapid punitive expedition into Sind by way of the Bangash and the Daraghat, for the purpose of impressing upon Khudayar Khan, the ruler of that province, the necessity of paying due homage to his new overlord. On the 15th February 1740, Nadir, after a laborious march, reached Khudayar Khan's stronghold, Amarkote, and having first imprisoned and then restored to power the "silly Indian," as a Persian historian calls the defeated governor, he proceeded *via* Kandahar to Herat. Here he spent a few days in high festival and pompous display of the untold treasures won in his Indian campaign, and about the middle of June started for Balkh. This city he had previously fixed upon as a base of operations against the Khan of Bokhara

who, unmindful of a castigation received some three years back at the hands of Nadir's eldest son, Riza Kuli, had profited by the invasion of India to violate the Persian frontier and renew the time-honoured Usbeg inroads into Khurasan.

Nadir's expedition into Bokhara was not a very eventful or glorious one. On the 23rd August, he encamped at 12 miles from the capital of the Khan, Abulfaiz, who incontinently made the most abject submission. Nadir now repeated the policy he had followed in Hindustan, restoring the Khan to power, but fixing the Oxus as the common boundary of the Persian and Usbeg dominions. While at Bokhara he bethought himself to chastise Ilbarz, prince of Khaurezm, who, in common with Abulfaiz, had been raiding the Khurasan borders, but who now declined to profit by his neighbour's example and advice to make timely obeisance to the energetic Nadir. Accordingly, the latter, on the 18th October appeared before Hazaresp, but finding that place strongly fortified, he made a feint movement upon Khiva. Ilbarz sallying out from Hazaresp followed him, whereupon Nadir, doubling back through the mountains, got between Hazaresp and Ilbarz, and shortly crushed the latter and had him put to death. He then returned to Persia, and at the end of the year 1740 we find him at Kalat. This spot, so wonderful by nature, Nadir, whose attachment to it had always been very great, proceeded to make still more wonderful by art, and to this day, as Kalat-i-Nadiri, the mountain fortress bears his name.

In the early part of 1741 Nadir went down to Mashhad, whence he projected a second expedition against the Lcsghis of Daghistan, his object being to revenge the death of his brother who, during the invasion of India, had lost his life among these savage mountaineers. Great loss and only partial success attended Nadir's arms on this occasion, but the expedition was marked by an event which, practically speaking, terminated Nadir's career. Whilst riding through the forests of Mazandaran, an assassin concealed behind a tree fired upon Nadir, wounded him in the hand, and killed his horse. Suspicion was quickly aroused in Nadir's mind of the participation of his own son in this attempt. Summoning Riza Kuli he taxed him with the crime, and, in a moment of ungovernable rage, ordered him to be deprived of sight. It is charitable to suppose that some time before this Nadir's reason had been giving way, and that the attempt on his life had been the last straw. At any rate, the fury and remorse which succeeded the blinding of Riza Kuli, left no doubt as to Nadir's state of mind. By the middle of June he was indisputably mad.

The remaining six years of Nadir's reign are not edifying to contemplate. A triennial struggle with his old enemies, the Turks, resulted in a peace, in which Nadir was forced to abandon much of his former fanciful pretensions. As to internal Government, the less said about that the better; the wild administration of a lunatic is hardly to be classed in the category of serious history. Unfortunately, wildness was not the only characteristic of Nadir's insanity. Rapacity, which wrung from high and low treasure to fill the idle coffers at Kalat; murderous barbarity, which bathed the Persian Empire in constant and indiscriminate bloodshed; religious intolerance, of which the wanton oppression of priests was perhaps the mildest feature; these are memories of Nadir's later years, on which I have neither need nor desire to expatiate. Strange it is that the terror of even so great a name could have power so long to cover the commission of such vast atrocities. For no less than six years the empire groaned under the madman's will, until on the 8th June 1747, the time came for him to render his terrible account. Some of the leading officials of the court, fearing for their own lives, resolved to put an end to the capricious despot; and, on the date I have mentioned, four chiefs, on pretext of urgent business, rushed past the guards into Nadir's tent, and in a few moments the great general and absolute monarch, now nearly sixty years of age, was dead.

Of Nadir's personal characteristics a detailed account is to be found in the pages of his contemporary, Fraser. From this description, which refers to a period just subsequent to the invasion of India, we gather that Nadir was upwards of six feet in height, well proportioned, with a handsome countenance, large black eyes and eye-brows, and a tremendous voice. As regards physiognomy this description tallies with the fine engraved portrait of Nadir given in Malcolm's History of Persia.

Simple in his diet and habit, Nadir possessed enormous bodily strength and endurance. An excellent man of business, he was; as regards keeping the reins of Government in his own hands, and administering his affairs with clearness and despatch, a model ruler. To his followers generous and often bountiful, he was still the strictest possible disciplinarian, and was no respecter of persons when a fault had been proved. Like many other great men he loved to unbend to two or three chosen friends, but to presume upon such an intimacy was death. "Such fools were not fit to live," he remarked as he ordered two of his evening companions, who ventured to advise him in public, to be strangled. "They could not distinguish between Nadir Kuli and Nadir Shah." His humour was of the rough-and-ready sort, but he was not necessarily savage in his wit. With reference to an Indian

official, who rejoiced in eight hundred and fifty wives: "Take from my female captives one hundred and fifty damsels," roared Nadir, "and give them to this man, so that he may become Mimbashi (Commander of a thousand l)"

Of Nadir's character, historically considered, it hardly behoves me to speak. Pens vastly abler than mine have fully sketched that character, and carefully estimated its influence upon the history of the Persian empire. I am naturally disinclined, as well as unable, to add anything to the words of Sir John Malcolm, of Jonas Hanway, and of many others, who have made this matter their especial study, and who have brought to the task a deep knowledge of Persia and of Persian ways of thought. Besides, one of the chief objects of this article has been to present a simple and connected narrative of Nadir's life, from which readers can readily deduce their own opinions, as to the historical aspect of the conqueror's career. Lest, however, this brief biographical sketch be considered incomplete without at least a few words of comment, I would very briefly ask my readers, while fully appreciating Nadir's undoubted virtues, his daring courage, his superb patriotism, his splendid administrative capacity, and his grand military genius, at the same time to be a little blind to his undoubted faults. Let them remember the very humble station from which he sprung, and above all the circumstances in which he was placed. Finally, let them not be too ready to look upon personal characteristics as inseparable from historical merit. Nadir was a murderer; so, for the matter of that, was Robert Bruce. He was a robber; how many of our cattle-lifting forefathers, whose memories we revere, were infinitely worse. Nadir was a usurper; but what a shadow of a throne it was that he usurped? He was a tyrant; but most of his tyranny was exercised when his responsibility for his actions had ceased. For myself I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction, as that of a humble student of history, that, robber, murderer, usurper, tyrant, as he was, Nadir Shah was still one of Nature's own prodigies, a combination of some of the greatest and rarest qualities that are permitted to mankind; and I even venture to think that seldom, indeed, in the unerring cycles of self-repeating history, there has arisen among the nations of the earth a man to compare with him, who for thirty years ruled with iron hand the destinies of the land of the Lion and the Sun.

OWEN E. WHEELER.

ART. IX.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA.
(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," January 1883.)

CHAPTER IV.

A Better Market

"Education is good, and so is political freedom, but more vital than either to the Indian peasant is sufficient food and decent clothing. To the Indian ryot will neither be forthcoming till the markets of Europe are freely open to the produce of his village lands."—*Indian Wheat versus American Protection*, 1883.

"The Indian Government is not a mere tax-collecting agency, charged with the single duty of protecting person and property. Its system of administration is based upon the view, that the British power is a paternal despotism, which owns, in a certain sense, the entire soil of the country, and whose duty it is to perform the various functions of a wealthy and enlightened proprietor The Indian accounts represent . . . not only the Indian taxation and the cost of administration ; they represent the trade expenses and profits of the Government as a great railway owner, canal maker, opium manufacturer, salt monopolist, and pioneer of new industries."—*Hon'ble W. W. Hunter (Imperial Gazetteer.)*

"I shall be exaggerating very little if I say that the country is split up into so many millions of five-acre farms. . . . It is found that all administrative problems, however intricate, can be resolved into factors in which the five-acre unit, and the prosperity of the five-acre holder, is the most important one of all."—*Mr. E. C. Buck.*

IT was proposed, in the last chapter, to cheapen the cultivator's cost of production by a system of State advances at low interest. With a larger out-turn, resulting from improved agriculture and the protection of his fields from drought ; a fairer share in that outturn secured to him by the fixing of a fair rent and by fair dealing with his improvements ; and with a much smaller deduction than at present from his share in the grain-heap, to replace with interest the advances taken for seed and subsistence, a large aggregate increase to his comfort and happiness, will, it is obvious, be achieved.

But the greatest possible improvement of his condition will not be attained until he is enabled to command a good market and a fair price for that portion of his share in the grain-heap which is not retained by him for seed or food. It, therefore, becomes necessary, (1) to examine the chief obstacles to the ryot's access to a better market ; (2) to search for the means of removing them ; (3) to outline a method of applying such remedy as may seem to be indicated.

I.—The obstacles to be removed.

The ryot's command of a fair price for his produce, and his access to a better market seem to be hindered, chiefly, by the following circumstances :—

- (1) the combination of the functions of money-lender and grain-dealer in the same person ;

- (2) defective communications ;
- (3) the handicapping of trade with Europe by excessive railway freights to the coast and breaks of gauge ;
- (4) the want of such organisation as elsewhere,—in America, for instance,—secures to the agricultural producer special advantages in competing for a footing in foreign markets ;
- (5) the periodical depreciation of the price of agricultural produce at the spring and autumn barter of produce for silver.

(1) *The combination of the functions of money-lender and grain-dealer in the same person.*

That this combination exists, as a rule, and that it prevents the borrowing ryot from getting a fair price for his produce, is shown by the following passages : "The cultivator himself, who is the chief producer and also the chief customer, knows little of large cities, and expects the dealer to come to his own door. Each village has at least one resident trader, who usually combines in his own person the functions of money-lender, grain-merchant, and cloth-seller. The simple system of rural economy is entirely based upon the dealings of this man . . . The money-lender deals chiefly in grain and in specie." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, IV., p. 568. Art. India). In Bengal "the Mahajan who, in effect, furnishes the farming capital, pays the labour, and takes all the profits, is a stranger, having no proprietary interest in the land. After setting aside in his *golas* as much of the produce come to his hands as he is likely to need for his next year's business advances in kind, he deals with the rest simply as a corn-factor, sending it to the most remunerative market." (*Calcutta Review*, July 1884, p. 201, Rustic Bengal.) "In this country, no doubt, the relations between producer and merchant are complicated by the fact that the former is generally to a certain extent in the power of the latter, and that his needs and obligations prevent the possibility of his taking full advantage of any knowledge he may possess of the prospects of the season." (*Ibid*, p. 155 : "Famines in India," &c.) "The grain-dealing class composes a guild or fraternity to which not only no outsider not of the caste can get admittance, but which also monopolizes the money-lending or banking trade. Thus the members, be they baniyas or zemindars, can compel the producer, who lives solely by the advances they grant him, to bring his produce to their shops, and prevent him getting full open market value for his goods. The cultivator is, therefore, not only crippled by the heavy interest he has to pay, but also by the low prices he is compelled to take for his produce," (*Muttra Settlement Report*, p. 90.)

"The profits made" (by sugar manufacturers) "are notoriously great, but it would appear that these profits are chiefly due to usurious advances, and consequent purchase of material below the fair value The cultivator who borrows money on his (sugar) crop has to bind himself to deliver his produce at a price far below its real value." Sugar-cane cultivation, Shahjehanpur, North-Western Provinces, *Revenue Reporter*, Vol. III. No. 1, 1874, pp. 156-7.) "Once in debt he" (the cultivator) "can hardly ever extricate himself, for then the price of the *rûs* (juice) in future is always fixed by the *khandsari* below the market price, and the rate of interest is raised. The cultivator must consent or be sued in the Civil Court for the balances due, sold up and ruined. I have known as low a price as Rs. 16 per hundred kacha maunds entered in the bonds, when the ruling price in the open market was Rs. 26 and Rs. 27." (Bareilly Settlement Report, p. 95). "The price rate . . . at which the Mahajan values his constituents' sugar produce is not the full price rate of the open market at the time of its delivery. In that he makes a deduction of from five or ten per cent., and, moreover, he weighs the produce at delivery considerably to his own advantage . . . There are agriculturists, of course, who are able to sell their sugar produce in open market, but these, probably, are themselves Mahajans either *in esse* or *in posse*, and the great bulk of the agricultural population loses part of the value of its sugar produce in the manner above described. In the case of any grain the cultivator must sell to the Mahajan the terms are not quite so hard. There is less chiselling, apparently, in the weighing, and value is allowed at the market rate of harvest-time." (Azamgarh Settlement Report, p. 144). "During the last six or seven years of my experience as a zemindar, I noticed the great loss to which the Asamis were put by the pernicious system of selling cane-juice and *rab* to the Mahajan." (Pundit Ajudhiya Parshad of Indalpur, quoted at p. 49 of Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Dept. of Agri. and Commerce, for 1881-82.) "When . . . the loans are not cleared off, and the cultivator gets at all deep into the money-lender's books, the matter changes. It is then customary for the creditor to take over the whole of the cultivator's grain or cane-juice and dispose of it to the best advantage for himself, giving the debtor credit for a price always somewhat, and sometimes very much, below the current rate." (Moradabad Settlement Report, p. 64). "Not one cultivator in five hundred realises the profits I have described" (obtained by an enterprising European landowner who 'was aware how much the land depends on manure, and who, not being indebted to any Mahajan, was able to obtain a fair price for the produce.') "He cannot afford to apply sufficient

labour, irrigation or manure, and he does not get the full price, as the crop is already hypothecated, and is purchased at a lower than the market rate. In the case of cane and poppy, there is a nearer approach to full profits than in wheat cultivation, as only the best cultivators grow these crops, and the price of the opium is received direct from Government." (Fatehpur Settlement Report, pp 19, 22).

(2) *Defective Communications.*—The reality of this obstacle to the ryot's access to a good market is everywhere admitted, and roads are made and improved, it is believed, to the full extent that the resources available, and the costly and cumbersome procedure of the Public Works Department allow.

That progress in railway construction has lagged far behind urgent requirements, has been demonstrated by Colonel Conway Gordon in the Yellow Pamphlet (1883). and now, in 1884, the Select Committee have reported that the evidence in favour of a more rapid extension of railway communication is conclusive, and that the amount proposed to be spent by the Government of India on railways during the next five or six years (thirty-three million) is moderate (Report, paras 20 and 30.)

(3). *The handicapping of trade with Europe by excessive railway freights to the coast, and breaks of gauge.*—How seriously high railway freights to the coast weight India in her competition with America for a hold on the European market is shown in the Yellow Pamphlet. The leading points may be usefully quoted. "The wheat-trade of England now oscillates between the three countries of America, Russia and India, swaying from one country to the other on the slightest fluctuation in price." (p. 7). The Government of India estimates the present yield of wheat in India at about 26½ million quarters, or 15½ million quarters in excess of the whole requirements of England. (p. 9). "Whether the question be viewed from the point of area, quality, or of price, it appears that after making the fairest allowance for the disadvantages against her in the matter of ocean-freight, India should be the principal source of supply for the wheat demand of England. It will now probably be asked why, with these unquestionable advantages, India has not, in the ordinary course of supply and demand, attracted more of the English wheat trade—why it has not, in fact, monopolized the whole of it. The answer to this question is a very simple one. The Americans have developed *cheap* lines of communication, while in India these have been studiously neglected To bring into the open markets of the world the wealth of the agricultural produce of India, all that is required is *cheap* communications between the interior districts and the coast; and it is in this respect that India is so immeasurably behind her rival." (pp. 14, 15.) "The Indian railways,

taken as a whole, are scarcely a patch on the vast system of lines that traverse the United States in every direction, bringing the products of each district into easy communication with the coast. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the difference this makes to the social status of the agricultural population in the two countries. To the American farmer the whole of the markets of Europe are open for the sale of the grain and other farm-produce not required for home consumption, while to the Indian ryot, in the more neglected districts, no calamity can well be greater than a bumper harvest, when the price of his grain falls to an almost nominal sum, when the greater part of the crop has either to be left standing or else buried to weevil away, and when at the same time the wretched peasant has to produce, too often by borrowing from a money-lender at simply fabulous interest, his regular share of the fixed Government assessment." (p. 16.) "In India, with the cheapest labour in the world, we do not seem able to compete with the high-priced labour of America; we are not able to carry grain at the same low rates as are in force on the American lines." (p. 18). "The rates for the carriage of grain that affect the small native trader are more than three times higher than the American rates." (p. 19). "The cheapest railway rates in India are even now more than one and a half times the ordinary American rates... Every three hundred miles of railway carriage at the present high rates adds on the extra charge of one shilling a quarter in excess of what the charge would be if the wheat were carried on an American line. Taking the average distance from the sea-board of the principal centres of the wheat-trade in India, we find that Indian wheat is, through the indifference shown to the whole subject, unnecessarily weighted in the competition to the extent of more than three shillings per quarter.... This is only the loss after the wheat comes on to the railway. Taking this together with the ruinous cost of cartage for long distances, it is not surprising that India at present succeeds in carrying off only a portion of the English wheat-trade at times when prices are ruling the highest, instead of occupying the position she ought of being able to dictate her own prices to America." (pp. 20, 21).

The necessity of reform in this matter was fully established by the evidence recorded by the Select Committee (1884). The remedy proposed by the Committee is that the Government should retain in their own hands a power of fixing, or from time to time varying, the maximum of fares and rates, subject to adequate provisions to secure the interests of investors.—(Report, para. 27).

The injurious effects of *breaks of gauge* were summarised in Colonel Conway-Gordon's evidence before the Committee as

consisting of the actual cost of transshipment (put by Mr. T. C. Glover at from two to three annas a ton); the delay and uncertainty that result from goods not being run through; the wastage and dryage of goods during transshipment—"the sweepings of grain from the tranship station at Nagpur sold during 1883 for 2,700 rupees");—the loss of power to each line from the rolling-stock of each being locked up at the changing station; and the further loss from surplus stock on one line not being available to assist in gluts of traffic on the other. (Evidence, p. 272).

Mr. Lionel Ashburner says:—"The goods traffic floods the different stations where there are breaks of gauge; it is impossible to move it; it demoralises all the subordinates of the railway. The station-masters and the understrappers of all sorts take large sums in order to give preference to the goods of the different men who pay them . . . Then there is the enormous wastage. There is a pile of cotton bales, for instance, as high as this room, or higher, and extending over an acre or two of soil. The white ants destroy the lower bales of the cotton, and it is impossible for a trader to get at his cotton; it is so surrounded by piles of other cotton and grain, and all sorts of goods, that he cannot get at it. He cannot save it from rain. There is not sufficient shed accommodation for it. It is out in the open. A storm of rain comes on, as is very often the case in the hot weather, and it is subject to enormous losses. . . . I have heard of merchants being almost ruined by the demurrage they have had to pay owing to the block of traffic on the different railways up-country." (*Ibid*, p. 416).

"The witnesses," says the Report, "with singular unanimity, General Strachey and Mr. Rendel being the only exceptions, attached great importance to the avoidance of breaks of gauge."

And the Committee are of opinion "that all the leading trunk lines, with their principal feeders, should be on the broad gauge, the metre gauge being, as a rule, confined to tracts of country where that system is already in successful operation, and to local lines where the traffic is likely to be so light, that cheapness of construction more than counterbalances the undoubted disadvantage of break of gauge." (Report, para 21).

- (4) *The want of such organisation as elsewhere,—in America for instance,—secures to the agricultural producer special advantages in competing for a footing in foreign markets.*

This most serious obstacle to the development of the export of agricultural produce from India is chiefly traceable to the smallness of Indian farms, the petty scale of village business, the scarcity of large capitalists, the mistrust subsisting between the different castes and classes, and the complete want of

combination between the three landed interests of State-landlord, zemindar and ryot. "America is an enlightened and enterprising country, with an export trade of enormous proportions, and by a happy combination of growers, carriers and exporters, a system has been adopted which has been found beneficial to all parties concerned, and to the State also in natural consequence. In India all these conditions are reversed. . . . Producers, middlemen and exporters all have, or think they have, separate interests. . . . Traders in this country are always jealous and suspicious of any Government interference. . . . The American system" (of inspecting and grading grain) "is based upon a voluntary co-operation of all parties through whose hands the grain passes, and such a combination would be impossible in India." (Mr. W. Ramsay, Collector of Nasik. *Wheat Production and Trade in India*, 1879, p. 345).

In America "enormous areas are grown with food-grains of very much the same kind and quality." But in India "the land instead of being cultivated by farmers owning large areas and growing for export is occupied by petty peasant proprietors who grow mainly to supply their own wants, and the local market. The consequence is that what is available for export is generally collected by a class of middlemen from a number of cultivators, and that this middleman's stock represents a great variety of grain both as to description and quality. To grade this accurately would be almost impossible." (Mr. H. N. B. Erskine, Commissioner, Northern Division, Bombay, *Ibid*, p. 346).

These remarks, though made regarding a part only of Western and Southern India, are equally applicable to the whole of the continent. In the N.-W. P. and Oudh "grain, like other staples of Indian trade, is collected from innumerable small producers by middlemen (*arthyas*), who supply the large European exporters, but themselves also act as exporters. It is at this point that so much dishonesty prevails." (Mr. F. N. Wright, *Ibid*, p. 352).

"The practice" (in the N.-W. P. and Oudh) "is to have the grain carried off to godowns at Calcutta to be examined by or on behalf of the consignees for refraction. The cultivator can and often does clean down to two per cent. of impurities, but the consignees insist on deducting four per cent. on this account from the purest samples they receive, thereby occasionally making a not wholly deserved profit. The up-country dealer, however, soon learns this, and makes the profit himself by mixing the required proportion of dirt in the grain he gets from the cultivator. Whatever form the transaction takes, it amounts to an *ad valorem* tax of two per cent. on the trade.

It is said, moreover, that the business of assessing samples is much in the hands of native jemadars and that there is good deal of corruption." (Mr. W. C. Benett, Director, Department Agriculture and Commerce, *N.-W. P. Gazette*, 11th October 1884, p. 176).

In the Central Provinces, "it is when the produce changes hands and is found in the store rooms of the dealer that more or less admixture becomes a regular feature in the samples." (Wheat Production, &c., p. 79). In Bombay, "unfortunately, the chances are ten to one that the cultivator is deep in debt; his crop when saved goes direct to the bannia; he saves none of it for seed; and when he requires the latter, he has to borrow it again from the bannia and take such quality as the latter chooses to give him . . . Certainly the cultivator's wheat might be cleaner, but it is after it leaves his hands that the real adulteration begins. It cannot be stated whether this is done at the river ports, but it is well known that the practice is regularly carried on in Kurrachee. The importers are natives; the exporters mostly Europeans. Little, if any, grain comes to the latter direct from the railway station. It is taken into the native town, there mixed, chiefly with barley, and then taken back to the exporter's yard, where the barley is cleaned out again as far as is possible." (*Ibid*, p. 133). In "Sind the seed grain is not carefully stored or packed; it is stored by the grain-dealer in what are called *kothis*. They are never properly cleaned out before they are filled again, and as the cultivators are mostly all indebted to the dealers, who are also the village money-lenders, they are obliged to accept any kind of grain offered to them." (*Ibid*, p. 143).

In the Punjab things are no better. "There are ten or eleven villages in the Ferozepur district in which the lower classes, such as Chamars, sweepers, &c., make it a trade to supply different colored earths to suit the color and size of the different kinds of grain. The earth is worked into small grains to look like the grain, and the traders say it is almost impossible to winnow out this description of dirt . . . Water again is put in to increase weight . . . All these practices are resorted to by the conveying traders in self-protection against the tricks of the brokers who rob them in various ways." (Punjab Wheat, p. 26). In the Lahore District the small grain-dealers "very generally mix up all the grain they get from their different cultivators, and then strike one rate for all the grain, paying the same rate to all the cultivators, irrespective of the quality, kind, or cleanliness of the wheat." (*Ibid*, p. 47). In Muzafargarh, says Mr. C. E. Gladstone, "the wheat is trodden out by oxen and becomes foul from dung and urine. The cultivators then, after winnowing it, let it lie on the ground until they

have sown their Kharif. Squirrels and birds befoul it, and the dust raised by wind falls into it too. It thus arrives at the corn-merchant's in a dirty state. . . . About purity, the great drawback is the indebtedness of the people. They have to take any grain their Sahukár gives them. This is never pure. Pure wheat hardly exists. . . . Further, the purity of the grain is destroyed by the corn-merchant. These men collect wheat from hundreds of farmers and throw it all into one *palla*. They throw all the blame on the cultivator. The corn-merchants and village Sahukár are more to blame than the cultivator. . . . The cultivators are, to a great extent, helpless. They must take impure grain from their creditor, the Sahukár. If pure grain was to be had they could not get it. They must give their custom to the Sahukár. . . . Our grain-dealers have no means of cleaning grain, and no intention of starting any. They are apathetic." (*Ibid*, p. 60).

Look on this picture, then on that presented by the organisation and enterprise of America. The rapid development of her railways and the cheapness of railway freights has already been noticed. "In America a great deal of the (railway) traffic has been stimulated and promoted by what they term dispatch companies. These are companies working as it were within the railway companies. These dispatch companies hold their own stock. They pay a certain haulage charge to the railway companies, and they hunt about for traffic, and they make their own bargain with the merchants."—(Select Committee, 1884. Evidence of Mr. Donald Graham, p. 168).

At Chicago "for receiving the grain and transferring it to the railway wagons, when it is brought in by ship, immense towers or 'elevators,' twenty in number, have been set up along the shore of lake Michigan, and they have a storage capacity of 16,000,000 bushels. Some of them are eighty feet high or more. They unload at the rate of about 7,000 bushels an hour each."—(Marshall's Through America, p. 92). Here is a description of a Chicago Elevator. "I went one day to see the elevator at work at one of Armour, Dole & Co.'s granaries, —a stupendous building, 110 feet high. . . . The interior on the ground-floor was like a railway terminus with trains running in and out. . . . When a ship comes alongside the granary, an elevator, working on the principle of our river-dredging machines but with the buckets small and touched with Chicago lightning, is sent down into her hold, and instantly, on steam being turned on, begins clutching the grain with its myriad hands, and flying up with it to the top of the granary, pouring it into a huge vat, or 'scale-hopper.' This receptacle holds 500 bushels at a time, and immediately on receiving that weight opens below, discharging the 500 bushels into the granary, and

instantly closes again to receive more. In this way the grain weighs itself on its passage from the ship to the store, machinery lifting it, machinery weighing it, and machinery storing it. When the grain is not to be stored, but transferred from ships to railway cars, the cars enter the building, and the ship comes alongside. The elevator stretches down into the ship's hold and runs the grain up into the scale-hopper which, instead of emptying it into the store, discharges it into a spout which shoots it down into the cars. In this way, with incredible rapidity, train after train is loaded and sent off." (Macrae's "The Americans at home." II. p. 194.) This granary contained ten elevators able to gather up and store 40,000 bushels of grain an hour, if all working at once. A new grainary was being built "on a still more gigantic scale, being provided with fifteen elevators . . . and being capacious enough to hold a million and a quarter bushels." (*Ibid.*)

In the American cotton trade, the system of through bills of lading by the railways in connection with the ocean steamship lines from New York, enables the spinner or merchant in England to "buy in Memphis at first hand from the producer, with all the selection of grades the market affords, and have the cotton delivered to him in Liverpool by rail and steamship within three or four weeks of the purchase, not only with advantages of freight but without the cotton being handled, tared, or stolen at any intermediate point, and with no more than one series of necessary commission charges, *viz.*, at the place of purchase." (Somers' *The Southern States since the War*, p. 260).

At the chief grain collecting centres in the United States the grading and inspection of grain has been systematised to such perfection, that a consignment of wheat is as exchangeable as a bank-note. Details of this admirable system are given at pp. 302 to 359 of "The Wheat Production and Trade of India, 1879." Its leading features are these. Early in each season, Committees of the Produce Exchange at New York, the Board of Railroad and Warehouse Commission at Chicago and Illinois, and the Chamber of Commerce at Milwaukee examine samples of the new crop of wheat, maize, rye, oats, barley, &c., and fix the standards for each grade of the various kinds of grain. Grain on arrival, is carefully tested and graded according to these standards by an Inspector-in-Chief, aided by Deputy and Assistant Inspectors. These officers are remunerated by inspection fees. It is essential that they should be "able to discriminate by eye, touch and smell, the several qualities of grain" that pass before them, and that their moral character should be "such as to withstand the efforts that are made by receivers to secure for their grain a higher grade than

that to which it should properly be assigned." The grain is then weighed and warehoused, and a certificate is issued to the consignee, informing him that the Railway Company (or warehouse man) hold so many bushels of grain of such a grade subject to the consignee's order. "This certificate is negotiable, and passes from hand to hand in lieu of the grain itself. A factor wishing to make a shipment of a particular kind of grain, presents to the Railway Company (or the warehouseman) sufficient of these certificates for his purpose, with instructions to put the grain on board or alongside of a certain vessel, or it may be, on a train of cars. The rest is mechanical."—(Wheat Production, &c., p. 303).

Mr. Lionel Ashburner, who has seen wheat graded at Chicago, and has served in every district of the Western Presidency, and has thirty-five years' Indian experience, thinks that 'the same kind of thing might certainly be done in India.' "There is," he says, "no practical difficulty in introducing the same system into India. The want of care is about general throughout India. Three or four separate qualities of corn might be fixed as standards, just as it is done at Chicago, where you get corn of a certain sample. There is no difficulty about it."—(Select Committee, 1884. Evidence, pp. 414, 415).

The opinions collected in 1879 (Wheat Production, &c.) make it probable that the difficulty is a good deal greater than Mr. Ashburner thinks, and that this particular triumph of organisation, and many others which India sorely needs, will not be achieved until the landlord-in-chief leads the way in breaking down the barriers.

(5) The periodical depreciation of the value of the cultivator's produce in the barter of produce for silver.

This a very potent, though an almost unnoticed, element in that phase of the ryot's depression which is due to a bad market. "Whenever," says McCulloch, "the supply of money is limited, its value varies in the inverse ratio of its quantity as compared with the quantity of commodities brought to market, or with the business it has to perform."—(McCulloch's Edn. of the Wealth of Nations, 1863. Note IX, Section II, Supplementary Notes and Dissertations). "That an increase of the quantity of money raises prices and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency."—(Mill's Political Economy, III, VIII. 4)

The law here stated operates with great force in the regulation of the prices at which the ryot's produce passes into the hands of the grain-dealer. An extreme illustration of its working is described in the Annals of Rural Beagal (p 315.) In 1790 the calling in of the debased coinage which formed

two-thirds of the currency of Bengal "denuded the rural population of the means of purchasing the necessaries of life. The prices of local produce sank to nominal rates, not because grain was really cheap but because money was dear, and the village usurers, demanding a settlement of accounts as usual at harvest time, received the husbandman's whole crops in return for a pound of thirty shillings advanced to him in spring."

I reproduce here some observations on this subject contributed by me to the "Fair Field" columns of the "Pioneer" in June 1876, under the title of "Corn in Egypt." "Silver, not being a product of Upper India is, relatively to agricultural produce, a scarce and costly commodity, of which at certain times,—the rent and revenue collecting periods,—an immense consumption, roughly measurable at twice the revenue demand, is forced upon the payers of rent and revenue, the result being, that at these times the demand exceeds the ready supply; the holders of silver ask and get a fancy price for it; and consequently the price of grain and all other commodities with which it is purchased, is depressed abnormally. This depression is acutely intensified by the glut in the grain market produced by the urgent necessity of parting with it at whatever cost in order to get the wherewithal to pay the rent and revenue demand."

The depreciation under notice is closely connected with the question of the proper number of, and periods for, paying the rent and revenue instalments. This was clearly pointed out by Mr. C. H. Crosthwaite, when Settlement Officer of Etawah. He says:—"The simultaneous demand for one million sterling from the agricultural classes must, and does, cause the value of money to rise very much. And a loan which at another time could be had at the rate of 36 per cent. per annum, at the time of the revenue instalments costs 72 per cent."—(Etawah Settlement Report, p. 89). In another paper Mr. Crosthwaite says:—"The evil which we want to meet is the increase in the price of silver which is caused by the demand at one time of a large instalment of the revenue, all of which, with very trifling exceptions, is paid in specie... The demand for a large amount of specie to pay the revenue, causes the same phenomena which occur when an efflux of specie takes place. Holders of capital demand a large amount of interest, and borrowers are compelled to pay it. But in this case the loss falls primarily on one class, namely, the agriculturists. They are obliged to part with their produce at a very low price in order to obtain silver to meet their urgent wants. The evil is caused by the large simultaneous demand for specie, not by any hoarding on the part of Government... When the same pressure is applied all over these provinces, (to go no further), at one time, it must cause the harvest prices to fall to an unnecessary

degree, and must subject the farmers to a very great loss." (N. W. P. Revenue Reporter, Vol. I, No. 1, 1872, p. 54). This periodical depreciation is forcibly described by the Settlement Officer of Jalaun. Mr. P. J. White says:—"It is with these" (the harvest prices) "that the agriculturist has immediate concern, and their comparative profusion shows what a necessitous creature is your ordinary ryot. He cannot wait after harvest until the grain-dealer shall pay him a price in some agreement with the average annual value of the produce. The poor helot of the soil is forced to sell at once, forced to flood an already full market, and thus with open eyes depreciate his own goods, because his, as well as his landlord's, first necessity is silver wherewith to pay the rent and revenue, and because he is quite in the grip of his village banker, who having translated the money-value of the seed grain (with accruing interest) advanced at sowing time into present value in kind, is no advocate for merciful delay until the market rises. The banker is omnipotent, for it is to him that the agriculturist has to look for raising the next harvest, and indeed for carrying on at all." (Settlement Report of Pargana Koonch, Zillah Jalaun, 1874).

The data for calculating the average extent of this depreciation have never, I believe, been collected. Any one who may hereafter take up the subject will find some useful statistics as to the variations between the rise of bazar and harvest prices in the Settlement Reports of Mainpuri (p. 70), Muttra (p. 90), and Gonda (p. 74), and also some valuable indications as to the kind of data that will be required and the way in which they should be handled. Mr. W. C. Benett finds, in his Gondah Settlement Report, that the corn-factor's profits as shown by the difference between bazar and harvest prices, are rather more than twenty-seven per cent. on his original outlay. "When we consider," he says, "on the one hand, the general high rate of interest, the expenses of carrying and storing, and the risks from damp and fires, and on the other, the virtual monopoly which is secured to the banya by the indebtedness of the cultivator, the above rate of profit hardly seems extravagantly high." In Muttra, Mr. R. S. Whiteway's analysis of field and bazar prices from 1813 to 1876 led him to the conclusion that, in Muttra, "the cultivator is not only getting his share in the rise of prices generally, but is also gradually forcing the banya to give him a better price for his produce; for whereas bazar rates have risen for wheat only 42 per cent, the harvest rates have risen 55 per cent. The difference between harvest rates and bazar rates for this grain was 27 per cent. for the first period" (1813—1837); "23 per cent. for the second" (1838—1857), "and only 17 per cent. for the third"

(1858—1876). "It must take time for the benefits of the competition in the export trade to filter down to the cultivator, guarded and hedged as he is by custom and long standing obligations, but in a longer or shorter time it must reach him."

In Mainpuri, on the other hand, a contrary conclusion was reached by Mr. M. A. McConaghey and Mr. Donald Sincaton, the joint compilers of the Settlement report. They give a schedule of harvest prices "carefully abstracted from the books of the district grain-dealers for the thirty two years, 1840 to 1871, and a schedule of bazar prices extending from 1813 to 1871." Their conclusion is:—"While the bazar price of wheat during the period 1859—71 shows an increase of 58 per cent. on that of the preceding period, the corresponding increase in its harvest price is only 42 per cent. In the determination of harvest prices the cultivators and the village grain-dealer, be he zemindar or banya, are the sole parties concerned, and the harvest rate is literally the bargain which they conclude with each other. But this bargain is not altogether a free one. The tenant is by long established usage and his own improvidence dependent greatly on the banya or zemindar with whom he deals for his seed, rent advances, often for his food and other necessities of life. The grip of the purchaser on the seller in such a bargain is a very tight one. Hence in fixing the harvest prices the grain-dealer, who is the purchaser, has generally the best of it. Therefore on a general rise in market rates harvest prices, although they will not remain stationary, will not increase in the same proportion. The cultivator has not reaped the full benefit, or anything like it, of the rise in market value of produce."

These data seem to justify the assumption that this periodical depreciation represents an average loss to the ryot of at least ten per cent. of the fair local price of that portion of his crop which he makes over to the grain-dealer.

II.—Where to look for the Remedy.

The importance of this phase of the ryots' depression is greatly increased by the fact, that an enormous quantity of the silver so dearly purchased by the losing barter of produce for rupees, is presently sold cheap by the still more losing barter of rupees for sovereigns. In 1876, when I first invited attention to the intimate connection between this losing barter on the part of the ryot and the State loss by Exchange, the estimated loss on the Secretary of State's drawings was two and a quarter millions (£2,232,000) on a remittance of thirteen and a half millions (£13,660,000). The estimated loss for 1884-85 is three and a half millions (£3,538,100) on a remittance of sixteen and a half millions (£16,500,000).

A further serious fall in the exchange value of silver, or in the revenue from opium, might at any time make the question of saving or largely reducing this loss by exchange the turning point between solvency and embarrassment.

If grounds can be shown for believing that this loss, so far as it is real, can be very largely reduced, such grounds would deserve very careful attention. Their claim to be closely examined would be greatly strengthened if they should be found to point to the possibility of devising a system which, while relieving the finances of the Empire from the burden of loss by exchange, would at the same time tend to relieve the ryot from the burden of low prices, and to have a powerful effect in overcoming the five great obstacles that at present block his access to the better market.

I believe that such a system may be elaborated on *the basis of the substitution of a direct barter of produce for gold instead of the present round-about barter of produce for silver, and of silver for gold.* This belief is based on the fact that, side by side with the round-about ruinous barter practised by the State and its ryots, the direct barter of produce for gold is being carried on, actively and profitably, by the very persons with whom they deal in their unbusiness-like, unfortunate transaction.

The sixteen or seventeen millions annually remitted from India to England are remitted, as everybody knows, not in specie but in produce. The sixteen or seventeen million sovereigns required by the Secretary of State are purchased by the sale of Indian produce commanding that price in the London market. This Indian produce has been purchased in India with the rupees paid by the Secretary of State at the presidency treasuries for the sovereigns acquired by him in London. The produce thus purchased in India for direct exchange with gold in London is the very produce which, a few weeks earlier, the ryot has been selling at a loss to his banker and corn-factor, but which the corn-factor, the middleman, and the exporter pass on from hand to hand, each making something by the transaction, till at last it reaches a European market, and is there bartered for gold.

Of the various parties concerned in the whole transaction no one loses but the State and the ryot. They lose and deserve to lose because, while actually holding jointly the ultimate medium of remittance and exchange, they choose to part with it in a bad market in order to acquire a depreciated medium of exchange which is not required in the transaction at all, and then proceed to dispose of this depreciated medium in another bad market to acquire a commodity for which the produce so rashly parted with is directly exchanging at a profit.

The state of the market admits of the direct barter of produce, say wheat, for sovereigns. Instead of making this direct barter, the wheat is sold by the ryot to the corn-factor for rupees. It is then sold by the corn-factor to the middleman or exporter, also for rupees, at a price which has, as we have seen, been computed in a typical district to be twenty-seven per cent. higher than the price at which the ryot parts with it. Lastly it is sold by the exporter for sovereigns in Mark Lane or elsewhere.

I ask,—is it wholly beyond the organising capacity of the Government of India to put an end to this ruinous and ridiculous state of things?

Is it chimerical to suggest that there is scope here for very real and valuable reform, and that that cannot be impossible for the joint energy of the State, its zemindars, and its ryots, with due co-operation from private enterprise, which is being actively done already, in a more complex way, by persons between whom there is no such *nexus* of mutual interest and obligation as subsists between the State, the zemindar, and the cultivator?

It is not necessary to the success of my demonstration that I should show that the operation can be performed, either now or hereafter, on a scale large enough to cover the whole area of loss. The soundness of a reform lies in its efficacy in producing substantial advantages, in the wholesomeness of its action, and in its inherent vitality and capacity for gradual development, as circumstances and opportunity admit. I do not claim for my suggestion that it will, if adopted, remove the whole of the annual loss by exchange, or wholly relieve the the ryot from the depression caused by the badness of his market. All that is advanced is, that in both these matters substantial relief may be secured by its adoption, that things would be brought into a more wholesome groove than at present, and that conditions would be established from which great future benefits, financial, economic and political, might confidently be expected.

I will now try to establish the grounds of the belief expressed. I will then outline a method for applying the proposed remedy. Incidentally I will examine three propositions connected with the subject which seem to me to be seriously fallacious, and to be responsible for a good deal of the indifference with which the question is at present regarded. These three propositions are, that the loss by exchange is apparent only, not real; that the loss is real, but that the true and only remedy lies in the development of Indian exports; that the proposal involves an improper descent by Government into the mercantile arena.

The grounds of my belief are contained in the following propositions :—

(1). The Government of India has to acquire, and to place in London, sixteen or seventeen million sovereigns annually.

(2). In the process of buying these sovereigns with rupees furnished from the Indian revenues, it incurs a nominal loss by exchange of between three and four millions sterling. (The extent of the real loss by exchange will be stated presently).

(3). This loss is incurred because silver is directly exchanged for gold, and because the exchange value of gold in relation with silver has undergone extensive appreciation.

(4). The gold to be exchanged for silver is acquired by the sale of Indian produce for gold, in London.

(5). This produce is purchased in India with the silver for which the gold has been exchanged in London.

(6). The Government loss by exchange is traceable to the fact that, as the Government neither holds nor acquires the produce with which the gold is purchased, it is compelled to carry on the unprofitable barter of silver for gold with persons who carry on the profitable barter of silver for produce in India, and of gold for produce in London.

(7) The Government can get rid of the unprofitable, and adopt the profitable branches of the entire transaction : (a) by taking its land revenue in kind, and, wherever this is impossible, by purchasing the required amount of produce, and (b) by exporting the produce so acquired to Europe, and there bartering it for gold either directly by Government agency, or indirectly through agents, brokers or contractors.

With regard to these seven propositions, I suppose that the accuracy of the first, second, third, fifth and sixth will not be disputed.

To establish the fourth, it will be sufficient to quote the following passage from the speech of the Under-Secretary of State for India (Hon. J. K. Cross), in May 1883, on Mr. E. Stanhope's motion to reduce Indian expenditure.

Referring to the Home Charges Mr. Cross said, (*Times* report) :—

"Here they had a total of nearly £17,000,000, requiring 204,000,000 rupees, which had to be paid in England. . . . They were paid, not in coin but in kind. . . . no money came to pay them : they were paid in cotton and corn, in jute and rice, in teas and indigo, and many other products of the soil of India, and as they grew year by year, so year by year they demanded more and more of the produce of Indian soil to meet them . . . The debts of the world were paid in kind. A pound of debt was discharged by a remittance of a sovereign's worth of produce."

The seventh is the only proposition that requires special consideration.

The particular transaction to be got rid of, if possible, is the purchase of gold by the Secretary of State in London with silver at his disposal in the presidency treasuries. The transaction to be substituted is the acquisition of produce in India, and the barter of this produce for gold to be paid in London.

The practicability of the operation seems to turn on the answer to the following questions:—

(1). Can such a price be obtained for Indian produce in the markets of Europe as will make the net cost of remittance in this shape greatly less than the net cost of remitting under the present system?

(2). Is there reason to doubt the ability of the Government to conduct the operation?

(3). Is the Government in a favourable or unfavourable position for successfully organising the enterprise?

(4). If the conditions involved in these three questions are satisfied, would the transaction be an improper encroachment by the Government in the field of private enterprise?

The last of these questions will be examined in the concluding section (111) of this chapter. At this point I will only say that I have given it frequent and careful consideration during the last eight years and have satisfied myself, and believe that I can satisfy others, that private enterprise would not be improperly interfered with.

The answer to the first of the other three questions seems to be furnished by a consideration of the rapid development of Indian exports to Europe; the great extent to which they consist of raw agricultural produce; the large aggregate profit on the barter of produce for gold obtained by the numerous intermediaries, between the Indian producer and the European consignee, and the enormous loss on the barter of silver for gold.

The rapid development of the Indian export trade with Europe and the great extent to which it consists of raw agricultural produce are established by the following passages in the Imperial Gazetteer:—

"India has always maintained an active intercourse with Europe . . . It has been reserved for our own day to discover, by the touchstone of free trade, the real source of her natural riches, and to substitute bales of raw produce for boxes of curiosities. The cotton, grain, oilseeds and jute of India now support a large industrial population in England . . . Our rule derived its origin from our commerce . . . At the beginning of the last century, before the English became the ruling power in India, the country did not produce £1,000,000 a year of

staples for exportation. During the first three-quarters of a century of our rule, the exports slowly rose to about £10,000,000 in 1834. During the half century since that date, the old inland duties and other remaining restrictions on Indian trade have been abolished. Exports have multiplied by six-fold. *In 1880 India sold to foreign nations £66,000,000 worth of strictly Indian produce, which the Indian husbandman had raised, and for which he was paid. In that year the total trade of India, including imports and exports, exceeded £122,000,000.*" (Imperial Gazetteer, 1881. IV., pp. 542—545). "London still retains its historical pre-eminence as the first Oriental mart in the world, whither buyers come from the other countries of Europe to satisfy their wants . . . Of European countries, France and Italy alone deserve notice beside England" (in respect of trade with India). "In 1877-78 the Indian exports to France reached the large total of nearly 6 millions sterling, consisting chiefly of oilseeds (rape and gingelly), indigo, cotton, silk and coffee . . . The trade with Italy shows a steady increase within the last five years, the exports having risen from £1,100,000 to £1,670,000 or 52 per cent . . . the exports are cotton, silk, oilseeds (sesamum) and hides . . . The trade with the United States comes next to that with Italy, both aggregating a little over 1,000,000 sterling. The exports are indigo, hides, raw jute, and gunny bags, lac, saltpetre, and linseed." (*Ibid* pp. 558—560). The same authority gives the value of the Indian exports to the United Kingdom in 1877-78 (excluding treasure) at £29,298,152, and shows that these exports consisted chiefly of raw produce, being rice, wheat, jute, cotton, oilseeds and indigo. (*Ibid*. pp. 556—561).

It is not necessary to spend much time in proving what every one will admit,—that *the intermediary agencies between the Indian producer and the European consumer are numerous, and the aggregate profit obtained by them must be very considerable.* "Broadly speaking, the greater part of the internal trade remains in the hands of the natives. Europeans control the shipping business, and have a share in the collection of some of the more valuable staples of export, such as cotton, jute, oilseeds, and wheat In those districts where the staples of export are largely grown, the cultivators commonly sell their crops to travelling brokers, who re-sell to larger dealers, and so on until the commodities reach the hands of the agents of the great shipping houses. The wholesale trade thus rests ultimately with a comparatively small number of persons, who have agencies, or rather corresponding firms, at the central marts." (Imperial Gazetteer IV., pp. 567—569). The number of links in the chain between the producer and the final consignee varies, of course, widely in different parts of India and

in different branches of the export trade. There will, I think be found, as a rule, the petty village bannia, who receives the produce direct from the cultivator; the larger dealer of the nearest mart or *ganj*; the big merchant of great collecting centres such as Agra, Cawnpore, and Delhi; the actual shipper, and the freight broker at the port of shipment. Each of these persons, be they few or many, has to make his profit on his share in the whole transaction; to say nothing of the carriers, who at its different stages provide pack-bullocks, carts, goods-wagons and steamers to convey the produce from the village to the port of ultimate delivery. The fact of continued and increasing exportation shows that the difference between the price finally obtained and the price at which the produce first changed hands is large enough to yield a fair remuneration to each of these sets of persons. So far as these persons are not capitalists, they have to be remunerated for the labour employed and the skill applied to its superintendence. So far as they are capitalists, they have to realize this remuneration for their employes and, in addition, interest on the capital invested, equal to the current rate of interest on the best security, plus such further profit as will indemnify them against whatever extra risk of loss this business involves in comparison with an investment in Government securities, and as will remunerate the capitalists themselves for such personal skill and assiduity as they apply to the work. (Mill's Political Economy, II. XV. I). In India the rate of interest below which capital does not seek a mercantile investment may be put at about four per cent. for European, and a much higher figure for most native capital. Each of the capitalists, probably not less than three in the whole chain, may be presumed to realize at least five per cent. on his investment, besides working expenses. The freight broker takes about one per cent. on the value of the consignment, and the shipper's agent at the port of consignment from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent. The aggregate profit divided among the capitalists and agents concerned, after carriage, freight, insurance and other incidental charges have been defrayed, cannot be less, on an average, than about twenty per cent.

That *the loss incurred by remitting in silver is enormous* is apparent from a consideration of the extent of the true loss by exchange, the scale of the remittances, and the period over which the loss has extended and seems likely to extend. The rate of real loss at which silver exchanges with gold is considerably less than the rate represented by the difference between the market value of the rupee in shillings and pence and its so-called 'par value of two shillings. As remarked by Sir E. Baring in his Financial Statement for 1881-82, "in

order to arrive approximately at the real loss by exchange, we must assume a normal relative value between gold and silver. When that relative value was as 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$, the 165 grains of silver contained in a rupee were worth 1s. $10\frac{5}{8}d$."

On this basis Sir E. Baring estimated the real loss to the Indian treasury in 1881-82, resulting from the disturbance of the equilibrium previously existing between gold and silver, at £2,053,600. For a correct standard, then, by which to compute the true loss by exchange, we must fix on some specified relative value between silver and gold as normal and authoritative. The relative value represented by a proportion of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 has been adopted by the bi-metalists, and is probably the soundest that can be chosen. Measured by this standard, under which the full sterling value of the rupee, if not depreciated, would be 1s. $10\frac{5}{8}d$, the true percentages of loss represented by the exchange of the rupee at, respectively, 1s. $8d$. and 1s. $7\frac{1}{2}d$. are 11·6 and 13·8. These considerations justify me in putting the average true loss by exchange at not less than twelve per cent. on the amount paid in rupees at the presidency treasuries in discharge of the Secretary of State's bills, and at about two-thirds of the nominal loss by exchange shown on the expenditure side of recent Budget Statements as Exchange on Transactions with London. In 1881-82 the real loss was, as already noted, computed by Sir E. Baring at £2,053,600. In 1882-83 it has been (at two-thirds of £3,081,433) £2,054,288; by the Revised Estimate for 1883-84 it will have been (at two-thirds of £3,860,000) £2,573,332; and by the Budget Estimate of 1884-85 (at two-thirds of £3,538,100) it will be £2,358,732.

A loss to a poor country like India of from two to two-and-a quarter millions annually, continuing for many years, and with a tendency to increase as the Home Charges grow and the exchange value of silver falls, is to my mind enormous, and, as Indian finance is constituted, dangerous.

It is convenient to dispose, at this point of the proposition, that the so-called loss by exchange is apparent only, not real. This proposition is stated rather positively in Dr. J. S. Cotton's "India." He says (p. 48) of "Loss by exchange":—"Of course it is not really a loss, but only a matter of account. If India had no payments to make in England the item would disappear." As India has to make large payments in England the relevancy of this remark is not apparent. The question involved in the proposition is not whether, under certain circumstances, the item would cease to appear in the accounts, but whether, while it does appear in them, it represents a real loss, or is only a matter of account involving no real loss. Dr. Cotton does not seem to have studied the Financial Statements of the Government of India for the last few years.

In the Statement for 1878-79 Sir John Strachey said that the increased sum required for making the home remittance, as compared with the sum required for the remittance of the same amount in 1872-73,—“the last year before the long standing equilibrium between gold and silver was violently disturbed,” . . . “represents the yearly taxation now required in addition to what would have been necessary if the old rate of exchange had been maintained. . . . The insurance provided against future famine has virtually ceased to exist; and the difficulties in the way of fiscal and commercial and administrative reform have been greatly aggravated. Nor can it be any way assumed that the evil will not continue and go on increasing.” In his Statement for 1881-82 (para. 80), Sir E. Baring, in a passage already quoted, showed how the *real loss* by exchange might be approximately computed. In his Statement for 1883-84 (paras. 44 and 45), Sir E. Baring again referred to the popular error of supposing that the whole of the so-called loss by exchange is real loss. He said:—“To speak of the total amount entered under *loss by exchange* as money lost is, of course, wholly erroneous, for under any reasonable hypothesis, in respect to the relative value of gold and silver only, a portion of the amount can be considered as a real loss.” As already noted he put the amount of real loss in 1881-82 at £2,053,600.

A much more fashionable fallacy is, that though the loss is real, the only true remedy lies in a development of exports. That a development in the export trade tends to keep up the relative value of silver as compared with gold, is of course true. “The rate of exchange is ruled by the selling price of silver in London. That again is ruled by the demand for silver. This demand is either for purposes of currency, of trade, or of manufacture. The last is not important. The demand for currency purposes was high when every European country, except England, and also America, maintained silver currency. But as silver is now being rejected from the currency of country after country (we do not refer to mere token currency) the demand for it is of course decreasing: consequently *the main demand now, which keeps up the price to even 50 pence an ounce, is that for trade purposes with Asia.*” (“The Future of Opium.” *Pioneer*, 27th July, 1883). It would be difficult to state the facts more clearly or compactly than is here done. But what does it point to? That the development of Indian exports acts as a *palliative*, retarding the decline in the exchange value of silver. Surely it is fallacious to speak of a mere palliative as if it were a cure, and to cease to search for a remedy because the efficacy of the palliative cannot be disputed. To make the proposition a sound one it would be necessary to show that such a development of the Indian export trade may be confidently expected as will

not only prevent any further decline in the exchange value of silver, but will restore the normal value. If there are any grounds for such expectation, how is it that the extraordinary development of exports, during the last few years, while doubtless retarding the decline, has done nothing to restore the normal value?

In the five years, 1874 to 1878, the average annual value of the exports, exclusive of bullion, was £57,140,000. In the next five years 1879 to 1883, it was £69,980,000. In 1883-84, it amounted to £88,076,000. (Report of Select Committee on Indian Railways, 1884, para. 17.) Yet in 1883-84, in spite of this rapid development, the exchange value of silver had not improved. The so-called remedy was in active operation, with no indication of reducing the mischief but merely of preventing it from becoming more acute.

Nothing else is to be expected from an operation which does not attack the root of the mischief. The difference between those who think in this particular groove and myself is this. They say,—we have to remit in silver, *therefore* let us do what we can to keep up the exchange value of silver. I say,—by all means do what you can to keep up the value of silver; but you cannot by any conceivable development of exports restore it to its normal value, *therefore* abandon, as far as possible, a form of remittance which involves grievous loss, and substitute a form of remittance which involves no loss, and is being carried on under your eyes at this moment, actively and profitably.

The second question is :—*Is there reason to doubt the ability of the Government of India to conduct the operation safely?* In the outline of a method of applying the proposed remedy, in the third section of this chapter, the aggregate operation will be divided into its component parts, and such computation made of the bulk of the work to be done at each stage, and comparison of it with somewhat similar work already done by the Government, as will make it easy to pronounce on this question. Here, I will merely quote an authoritative description of certain functions successfully performed by the Government of India, and ask whether a Government which does all the things described, need doubt its ability to do, or get done, an operation of the kind proposed. In his Financial Statement of March 1884, Sir Auckland Colvin says, (para. 120):—"The above remarks are sufficient to show once more that the Government of India in its character of railway constructor, and in its control of various industrial or commercial operations, undertakes large, varied, and expensive enterprises, which although for the most part highly remunerative, necessarily add to the sum total of its expenditure. It constructs railways and telegraphs; conserves or creates forests, makes and excavates salt; provides

saving banks; digs canals and tanks; organises and controls mechanical workshops and foundries; prospects for coal; furnishes funds for agricultural or industrial experiments; subscribes to economical exhibitions. It is also the holder of a large opium monopoly."

The remaining question for consideration in this section of chapter IV is:—*Whether the Government of India is in a favourable or unfavourable position for successfully organising the enterprise.*

The State in India is the chief landlord. It is practically, the sole landlord in the ryotwari districts. It collects its own rents. These rents exceed the amount of the annual remittance to England. They are paid by the sale of raw agricultural produce. The produce sold to pay the Government rent and revenue is, to a very great extent, the very produce in which the annual remittance is made. The roundabout ruinous way in which it is bartered for silver, and the silver for gold has already been described. The State, and the State alone, can place, so to speak, one foot on the ryot's threshing-floor and the other on the wharf in London, directly barter its share in the grain-heap for gold and so secure for its ryot the best market for this portion of his crop and for itself the cheapest possible means of discharging its annual liability in England. It owns and works the post-office, the telegraph lines, and to a great extent, the railways. It has an organisation that, except in Bengal, which will soon cease to be an exception, enables it to ascertain the crop grown on every field, and to connect itself with every cultivator and every zamindar. It can develop this connection to any required extent by moderate additions to its revenue establishments and by free excision of the morbid growths of dead, unfruitful drudgery that now degrade the tone, deaden the sympathies, and stifle the energy and intelligence of itself and its officers. Its service is still, as a rule, attractive in spite of increasing drawbacks, and it can compete on favourable terms in this respect with other employers. These terms would become much more favourable if a purer equity prevailed in its dealings with its servants, and if fidelity and loyalty were as freely exercised towards them as demanded from them.

It alone can raise capital at four per cent. or less. It alone, of all the agencies at work, is in the position of neither seeking nor needing to make a profit, after defraying working charges and providing against loss. It alone, in dealing with the ryot, can combine irresistible authority with pure unselfishness. To say this, is not to claim for the officers of Government any sort of moral superiority over those of their fellow-countrymen who are engaged in mercantile pursuits. It is merely to affirm the obvious truism, that the interests of the ryot, the zemindar, and

the general tax-payer are bound up in the State. It is their produce that has to be sold in the best market, their liability that has to be discharged, their remittance that has to be financed. The profit is theirs. The loss is theirs. The State has no interest in these transactions but theirs. Its officers, in this connection, are their agents and representatives, doing their business.

Favourable, however, as the position of the State may be, for organising this and those other practical enterprises which are proposed in these chapters, the position admits of immeasurable improvement. I shall try to show this in my fifth (concluding) chapter. It will be given, not as at first intended, to the subject of Less Absentecism,—a matter that can wait,—but to the suggestion of certain administrative reforms which cannot wait.

I shall try to show in it how the defects of our administrative system make adequate progress in satisfying the most urgent economic wants of rural India impossible. I shall try to show that the history of recent British Administration in India is a chronicle of continuous recession from direct contact with the people; that we are drifting away from a conviction of the paramount claims of rural India, and of the special obligations of the State in its capacity as chief landlord; and that this disastrous recession is being now forced on, faster than ever, by neglect of the simplest and most rudimentary canons of administrative success. I shall trace this result to the squandering of force, the frittering away of energy on trifles, the vagueness of aim, and distraction and dissipation of thinking and working power which is caused by the unfortunate combination, in the complex system of Indian administration, of intense objectivity, extreme centralization, division of will, incomplete division of labour, loss of touch between the Government and the district officers, and consequent loss of sympathy between the Government and the people. As a conspicuous illustration of this loss of touch and sympathy, I shall refer to Lord Ripon's handling of the Local Self-Government question in relation to rural India, its neglect of the most obvious conditions of success, its adoption of conditions that, until they are revised, necessarily ensure failure.

And I shall try to show how these dangerous evils may perhaps be cured; how force now wasted may be saved and concentrated; how it may be made to glow with ten-fold warmth and energy, by turning it into neglected channels of effort by the side of which the strength and skill and love of rural India,—the true India,—are waiting to work with us and welcome us.

ARTHUR HARRINGTON.

(To be continued).

THE QUARTER.

THE event of the quarter just closed, was the advance of the Russians towards the Afghan frontier and its results, the sudden display of energy on the part of our Government and the strained relations still existing between the two countries. As we go to press (the 21st of March) the negotiations between the countries are still pending. The unheeded warnings of forty-five years, from the mission of Abbot in 1839, to the mission of Lumsden in 1885, were very near receiving a sudden and terrible fulfilment during the last week, and may—we believe, must—yet be fulfilled at no very distant date, and that even if the negotiations, which are being carried on now, should result in a temporary settlement of the differences between the two countries. As it is, our Government has come out of the matter very badly indeed. We have asked Russia to withdraw from certain positions which she has occupied south of Sarrahks, and our contention is that these portions are practically Afghan territory.

Russia declines to withdraw from these positions, and her contention is that the points which she has occupied are Turkoman territory. If Russia is allowed to remain where she is, our diplomacy will have received another humiliating check, and another item will have been added to the dreary catalogue of insults, rebuffs, disasters and humiliations which a Gladstonian foreign policy has brought upon the nation.

In our issue for January, we pointed out that the Boundary Commission could, by no possibility, lead to any permanent settlement of the frontier dispute. This is now shown to be the case, and for the very reasons which we indicated at the time. The boundary which we desire to maintain is a geographical boundary; the boundary which the Russians have appropriated, and which they insist of maintaining, is an ethnological boundary, and it is hopeless to expect any permanent agreement between the two countries when the very principle of adjustment is a matter of dispute between them.

The next most important event of the very eventful quarter just closed, was the fall of Khartoum, with all its consequences, the death of the heroic Gordon, and the failure, so far, of the English expedition to the Soudan. The main object of the expedition was the rescue of Gordon. That object can never be accomplished now. We may avenge his death; we may vindicate the prestige of our arms and “smash the Madhi,” but

nevertheless our expedition will be a failure. We have, or can have, no quarrel with the people of the Soudan, apart from the duty which was imposed on us of rescuing our Ambassador, and the beleagured garrisons of our allies, the Egyptians. The Soudanese are fighting for an object, not only legitimate in itself—the independence of their country—but natural and legitimate in a very peculiar degree, with reference to all the circumstance and events of Egyptian history since the Arabi Revolt. The people of the Soudan were described by Mr. Gladstone as “brave men fighting for their independence,” and the truth of the description is not to be denied. A country like Egypt, which can neither govern itself nor defend itself, forfeits, by its own impotence, all right to a position of supremacy over any other nationality whatsoever. We have recognised this, and yet the policy of our Government influenced throughout by a sort of Micawber-like hope that “something would turn up” as an escape from the difficulties of their position, has been characterised by weakness, vacillation, incompetency, and a profoundly deficient perception of their responsibilities in connexion with the situation. If we had no intention of remaining in the Soudan, the mission of Gordon to Khartoum was a most egregious blunder. What could Gordon offer to the Soudanese, as a reward for opposition to the Madhi, nothing but the vengeance of the Madhi when he was gone? In the first instance, Gordon was welcomed with enthusiasm at Khartoum, and if he had gone there as an earnest from the British Government of British protection, it is possible that he would have “smashed” the Madhi himself. But his hands were tied. The expedition for his relief was so long delayed, that the Soudanese believed he was abandoned by the Government which had sent him to Khartoum, and the tribes fell from him in every direction. We know the rest. Egyptian treachery completed what English imbecility had begun. Khartoum fell; Gordon was killed, the English army of vengeance is retreating and entrenching itself; our military prestige has suffered “a heavy blow and great discouragement,” and the issue of this Egyptian *imbroglio* no man can foresee. It may—possibly must—result in complications which will have a very direct bearing on the future of the country, and, as such, comes within the review of considerations and events affecting us very closely indeed. Already France is very jealous as regards what we have done in Egypt. She is only too likely to be still more jealous of what we will be compelled to do as a consequence of the fate of Khartoum and the death of Gordon. Prince Bismarck has lately employed, or amused himself, in scolding us vigorously all around, and has plainly conveyed to us that we can no longer reckon on the support or sympathy of Germany in the event

of our being brought into collision with any of the other great Powers. Our ever watchful neighbour—Russia—is creeping on slowly but surely towards the Afghan frontier, and the shadow of a Russian invasion is looming in what appears to be a very near future indeed. In the meantime we are getting more “assurances” from eminent Russian diplomats. With these we appear to be content, and the Indian Government makes no sign. We say, appear to be content; for if we are not greatly deceived, both as regards the man and his mission, the eye which Lord Dufferin has fixed on our northern frontier is very wide open indeed.

In other directions besides Egypt, it is evident that Mr. Gladstone has steadily played into the hands of our enemies, and that we are now reaping the fruit of his miserable policy in the alienation of Germany and the activity of Russia and France.

Germany is the natural ally of England. Their interests do not clash, or ought not be allowed to clash, in any quarter of the globe. We have an interest, a deep interest, in colonization as an outlet for the ever-expanding Anglo-Saxon race, but any pretensions to monopoly in that direction would be in the last degree absurd and unjustifiable. Germany has quite as much right to every yard of unappropriated territory as we have. If we wanted it for ourselves, or if we wanted to keep others from appropriating it for themselves, why did we not take it? We did not take it, but no sooner does Germany make a step towards the territory which we were either too lazy, too timid, or too stupid to annex, than our Foreign Office is thrown into a ferment—our consuls and representatives receive “urgent” instructions stirring them up into a state of morbid activity; the German Foreign Office is inundated with “notes,” categories, from Lord Granville on the subject of German colonization, and at last the extremity of audacity is reached when we ask an independent power like Germany to accept from England certain “conditions” which are to accompany the German occupation of hitherto unappropriated territory. No wonder that Prince Bismarck expressed himself “bitterly” to Sir Louis Malet respecting the incredible folly of Mr. Gladstone’s foreign policy. No wonder that Prince Bismarck should decide on washing his hands of an English alliance and drawing closer to Russia, and supporting Russian policy in Central Asia. We have done what lay in us to drive our natural ally into the arms of our “dearest foe.”

The great battle of Bengal Tenant-Right has been fought—and won—not to the extent we hoped for, not altogether in the direction we anticipated—but still won, for the battle of reform like the battle of freedom, though baffled oft is ever won.

The plea of the opposition was a plea for delay and republication. That plea has not been allowed. What is to be done will be done at once, and this recognition by the Council of the necessity for prompt legislation, is in itself a great victory for the Government of Bengal. It is true that some provisions of the measure to which the Government of Bengal attached peculiar importance—on which it laid particular stress—have been eliminated from the Bill in the course of its progress through the Select Committee. This is to be regretted, but still what has been gained—in the direction of giving the ryot some protection against arbitrary enhancement—some definite rights of occupancy—is a very great step in advance indeed. The net result has thus been admirably summed up by a writer in the *Pioneer* :—

Whatever be the shortcomings of the Bill, it greatly strengthens the legal rights of the ryot. It gives him occupancy-rights in all lands he holds on proof, that for the past twelve years, he has had some land in the village. It further presumes in his favor in any dispute between him and his landlord, that he has occupancy-rights and requires the landlord to prove the contrary.

It prevents him contracting himself out of his right of occupancy. It prevents his rent being enhanced more frequently than once every fifteen years. It secures his right to make improvements and to be compensated for them on ejection. It requires the landlord to sell up the holding in execution of a decree instead of proceeding to evict, and it stops the abuses of distraint by making it an impracticable process. As regards the tenant-at-will it confers on him a number of important rights, the united effect of which will, in very many cases, facilitate his acquisition of occupancy-rights.

In his supplementary speech on the Tenancy Act the Viceroy repudiated, with just indignation, the baseless and malevolent insinuation that the Bill had been hurried through the Council, because Lord Dufferin and the Members of the Council wanted to get away to Simla as soon as possible. The statement was not only untrue, but curiously the reverse of the truth. The Viceroy, as it happened, had decided not to leave Calcutta, for fully three weeks, after the passing of the Bill. The Bill, as it was brought before the Council, was the result of the labours of the Select Committee, and every clause and section of the measure had been examined, discussed, fought over, and sifted through, grain by grain, before the Bill was submitted for a final decision to the Supreme Council, and now there is only one final consideration which remains to be taken into account in connexion with the practical application of the provisions of the Rent Bill. We are warned by the opponents of the Bill that it will lead to a great immediate increase of litigation ; so it was after Act X, and so it will be now that the

greatest measure of modern reform in connexion with land-tenure in this country has been passed into law. This is of course an evil, but then it is an evil which cannot be avoided, it must be frankly accepted and made, the best of, and it will find its own cure "in the long result of time."

The Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the sanitary condition of Calcutta was issued during the quarter, Mr. Cotton dissenting, as a matter of course. The Committee, with great judgment, refrained, as much as possible, from re-opening the weary and miserable controversy respecting the backslidings of the Municipal Commissioners. Summed up in a few words the case, as against the Commissioners, seems to stand thus. They were somewhat too careful of our pockets, and somewhat too careless of our lives. The recommendations of the Committee embrace a great variety of minute and valuable practical suggestions in connexion with bustee-cleansing, tank filling, sewer-flushing, and all other sanitary measures and precautions for improving and maintaining the public health of the city. There has been established in Calcutta a Society called the Health Society, consisting of a number of gentlemen interested in the great cause of public sanitation. During the quarter two admirable lectures were delivered in connexion with this Society, the one by Dr. Harvy, the other by Mr. Justice Cunningham. If these lectures have the effect, even in some degree, of awakening a general public interest in questions of sanitary science, they will do incalculable good, and as the promoter of this admirable Society, Mr. Cunningham has deserved well of the Calcutta community in the highest as well as in the most literal and emphatic sense of the word. In the prospectus of the Society, the *sources* of sickness and mortality in Calcutta are summed up as follows:—

"Those sources have been repeatedly described by the officials whose task it has been to inspect the native town, and the unvarying account given by one and all is, that the condition in which many thousands of the inhabitants of Calcutta are constrained to live, beggars all description, and would be incredible but for the ocular demonstration which proves it. Masses of human ordure lying at the very thresholds of the people's houses large pools, where every form of corruption pollutes the surrounding atmosphere, and a water-supply from tanks and wells which has been described by the Government Analyst as about as pure as ordinary London sewage, are the main characteristics of these miserable localities. It is here, as a rule, that the first cases of cholera occur, and here that its ravages are most extensive. The inhabitants of these localities have not hitherto been allowed to participate in the advantages of the improvements which have been so great a blessing to the richer portions of the city. In the Suburbs the state of things is, at least, equally deplorable. Most serious visitations of cholera and small-pox have within the last few years drawn the attention of the public to a state of things which, all agreed, is discreditable and dangerous, and the longer continuance of which cannot

be allowed. Much has, no doubt, already been done, but the work of sanitation in Calcutta cannot be regarded as, in any satisfactory sense, complete, until all parts of the Town and its Suburbs, rich and poor, European and Native, enjoy, to a like extent, the advantages as to conservancy, drainage and pure water-supply which are now, to a large extent, monopolized by the richer classes."

A somewhat acrimonious dispute respecting the Kidderpore Dock Scheme was suddenly added to the controversies of the quarter. When the question came before the Bengal Council, Mr. A. P. McDonnel summed, in a few lucid sentences, the *pros* and *cons* of the questions as far as we are able to understand them now. The objections to the scheme may be classed under two distinct heads, namely—financial and physical. The financial objections, according to Mr. McDonnel, will not bear any close examination. Even if the trade of Calcutta does not develop beyond its present limits, the scheme, so we are assured by Mr. McDonnel, cannot result in anything like a financial failure. On a reasonable calculation of all future source of profit, the docks, besides being an immense advantage to the shipping, must pay their way. The objections under the physical head deserve greater consideration. The Hooghly is what an Irishman would call a "contrairy" river, and it may, one of these days, commit vagaries which will seriously interfere with the utility of the docks. Under these circumstances the only question is how far can the scheme be considered a sound one, having regard to all the future possibilities and probabilities connected with it, and in answer to this question Mr. McDonnel finally decides in favor of the dock. On the other hand, Mr. Tremearne (whose admirable commercial letters in the *Pioneer* are attracting much attention) doubts very much whether the docks will be any real advantage to the shipping; is certain they will be no advantage to the merchants, and enters into great detail in order to prove that the trade of Calcutta is on the decline now, and may be expected to decline further in the future.

By the way, it may be noted that all these criticisms and objections to the Dock Scheme (however reasonable in themselves,) have been taken up and placed before us somewhat late in the day. The merchants of Calcutta were silent when they ought to have spoken, and have suddenly become garrulous and clamorous when garrulity and clamour can do very little good. The land for the docks has actually been taken up, and a very large expenditure of public money has already been incurred. The tramway is in process of construction, the loan is in the market, and the final sanction of the Secretary of State to the recommendations of the Local Government has been obtained. Things had reached this stage of progress, in connexion with the scheme; when the

merchants of Calcutta and their representatives in the Press suddenly woke up as (if from a bad dream) and declared that the docks were not wanted and would, if persevered with, injure, rather than serve the Port of Calcutta. At the next St. Andrews' dinner, the Chairman ought to propose the toast :— "Success to the Dock Scheme" with the appropriate air "Hey Johnnie Cope, are you waking yet?"

The Calcutta Volunteers were reviewed by the Viceroy during the quarter, and the speech which His Excellency addressed to the corps (on the occasion of the prize-distribution) was certainly "not in the common roll" of conventional orations delivered to meet the requirements of a conventional occasion. Lord Dufferin reminded his hearers, that he had always, both in England and in Canada, taken a deep interest in the volunteer movement, and had exerted himself to promote the success and efficiency of volunteer-organizations. One of the first things he noticed, on the day of his arrival at Government House, was the splendid appearance of the Calcutta Volunteers. If the regular army was called to the front, he knew that he could rely on the Volunteers to come forward and take the place of the regulars in doing garrison duty throughout the country.

The annual financial statement of the Government of India was published during the quarter. It is not very exhilarating reading. It is a case of mistaken again; in the estimates for 1884-85, we calculated on a surplus of £819,300, whereas we have to face a deficit of £716,200. The cause of this unsatisfactory state of things is not far to seek. It is due to the depressed condition of trade. There has been some improvement in tea, hides, skins, jute goods, (bags), and seeds, but in all our most important exports in raw cotton, rice, wheat, sugar, raw jute, the decrease has been steady and serious. This is the retrospect. The prospect is not much more cheering. Sir Auckland Colvin presents it to us with some very significant, not to say alarming, "ifs." He says—

"If, during the ensuing year, we are not called upon to submit to any material increase of expenditure, the estimates, based as they are on a very low rate of exchange and a very moderate calculation as to the revival of our trade, may, I think, be trusted to bear the test of trial. Should trade revive or exchange become more favourable, we shall have resources ample to meet our estimated expenditure. On the other hand, it is impossible to say whether additional expenditure may not, in the course of the year, have to be provided for, exceeding the limits of any addition which our revenues may reasonably hope to derive from the strengthening of our railway receipts, or from the improvement in our exchange. To put it in other words, heavily as we are weighted from the two causes above indicated, there is no reason why our resources should not fully suffice to meet all normal expenditure during 1885-86.

But if abnormal expenditure, whether of a temporary or permanent kind, is forced upon us, our estimates, even should they be strengthened by a more favourable combination of exchange and trade, may very probably prove unequal to meet it. It is to be hoped that the financial prosperity, the good harvests, and the undisturbed peace, which have of late years been accorded to us, will continue. But it is necessary to state clearly the position in which, owing to the concurrence of a variety of unfavourable conditions, we find ourselves placed, in order that considerations which inevitably presented themselves when the estimates were being framed, may be fully explained to the public, and that we may not be charged, should difficulties increase upon us, with having taken too sanguine a view of our position.

We insert elsewhere in this issue a very remarkable paper by Mr. A. P. Sinnett, on the Theosophical Movement. It goes without saying that the Editor of this publication does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his contributors, and that the pages of the *Review* are open to the discussion of all questions of public interest, by competent authorities, with no necessary requirement that the views of the writers should be in accordance with those of the Editor himself. Mr. Sinnett eschews all direct reference to Madam Blavatzky and the Coulombs and the recent scandals in Madras, and confines himself to a defence and explanation of Theosophy as a religious movement, an enquiry after the truth—the sublime truth—which can alone throw any light on the mysteries of human existence and human destiny. The philosophy of Theosophy, although expressed, shall we say disguised, in somewhat novel terminology, is certainly not new. It is as old as the Egyptians, and as modern as Tennyson. The power of the soul (Mr. Sinnett gives us a very unsatisfactory definition of the soul) in certain stages of development, “to strike through an electric medium of its own,” from human being to human being, is, as we understand it, the fundamental doctrine of Theosophy. But in this connexion Mr. Sinnett’s reticence about Madam Blavatzky, is a little unfortunate. Madam Blavatzky’s miracles may have been very trivial and contemptible pieces of trickery in themselves, but relatively speaking, they were of great importance to Theosophists, as evidences to a question of fact, namely, whether the Mahatmas did, or did not, condescend to communicate with their disciples in the manner represented by Madam Blavatzky’s broken saucers, pink letters, and halves of cigarette papers. Mr. Sinnett will not deny that he attached a very definite importance to these manifestations himself. Why, then, evade all discussion of the question as to whether they were genuine manifestations or not? Whatever Mr. Sinnett may think, or pretend to think, to the contrary, the credit of Theosophy in India must stand or fall with Madam Blavatzky.

POSTSCRIPT.

WAR between England and Russia may now be regarded as all but inevitable. Russia has at last been brought to a full stop. She must fight or retreat. If she elects to fight it is, perhaps, as well for us that it should be so. She has everything to gain and we everything to lose by further delay, assuming that delay will only be employed in preparation on both sides. There can be very little doubt of the fact that Russia has, for the time being, been taken by surprise. She calculated too surely and too often on Mr. Gladstone's forbearance and the influence of Radical unpatriotic imbecility on the policy of our Government. She has now to confront something very different from a weak and vacillating ministry, namely, a united and determined people.

G. A. STACK.

29th March 1885.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS FOR 1883-84.

Land Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces, 1883-84.

THE year opened with an arrear land-revenue demand of Rupees 20,40,300. The current demand amounted to Rupees 3,79,39,887 under the different classes. The total demand current, and arrear realizable, in 1883-84, was Rupees 3,99,38,487, or nearly four crores of Rupees collections. Of the total demand arrear and current amounting to Rupees 3,99,80,187, the collections amounted to Rupees 3,75,94,546 or 90·03 per cent. on the demand. Of this sum Rupees 16,17,847 were on account of arrears, and Rupees 3,59,76,697 on account of the current demand.

The percentage of collections was, on the current demand, 94·5, the percentage of arrear collections, being 79·2. Both percentages are below the corresponding percentage of the previous year.

Report on the Revenue Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, for 1883-84.

FINANCIALLY the year was an unfortunate one for land-revenue in this part of India. The total collections for fixed, fluctuating, and miscellaneous land-revenue, including tribute, amounted to Rupees 2,08,72,506, or Rupees 1,19,577 less than in the previous year, which, in its turn, was worse than its predecessor. These unwelcome results are due to the large amount of fixed revenue suspended or otherwise in balance, and to the failure of some of the inundation lands in the south-west, owing to the short rainfall. The takari advances made for land improvement during the year, amounted to Rupees 3,75,777, or more than a lakh of Rupees in excess of the expenditure of the year before. Great care has been taken for some years past to improve the standard of efficiency among *Patwaries* and *Kanungoes*.

Report on the Administration of the License Tax in Bengal, for 1883-84.

OUT of a total number of 248,128 villages in the province, 27,067, including 617 streets in Calcutta, were visited by the assessing officers, against 27,081 visited in the preceding year. Of the villages visited 26,562 were found to contain assesses against 26,814 in the previous year. After exclusion of double entries, and allowing for revision of the lists by collectors, the gross number of persons assessed is shown to be 77,613.

Of these 5,999 were exempted on objection, and 321 on appeal leaving 71,293 persons on the list on the 30th June 1884, as compared with 69,841 in 1882-83. If the population of Bengal is taken at 66½ millions, one person in every 932 paid the tax, the average incidence being rupee 1 to every 45 persons, as compared with rupee 1 to every 46 persons in the previous year. If Calcutta be excluded, the average incidence was rupee 1 to every 63 persons, as compared with rupee 1 to 64 persons in 1882-83. As compared with 1882-83, there was an increase in the gross demand amounting to Rupees 6,890; there was a decrease of Rupees 23,045 in the gross amount, resulting before realization, and of Rupees 9,765 in the amount refunded. As regards the attitude of the people towards the license-tax, the Lieutenant-Governor has little to add to the remarks recorded in previous resolutions. Since 1880 the tax has affected only a small fraction of the people. Those who have to pay have arrived at some degree of certainty as to their lawful liability, and look upon it as an inseparable item of expenditure connected with their trade or business.

Sea-Borne Foreign Trade of British India, 1883-84.

THIS trade shows a steady increase; the trade of the past year has been greater than that of 1882-83 by 4.57 per cent. The value of the imports of last year was in excess of that of the previous year by 3.35 per cent.; that of the exports by 5.49 per cent. Out of the whole 257½ lakhs which represent the value of the imports, not so much as 7½ lakhs were shipped to India from places not within the United Kingdom. Of the whole trade between the United Kingdom and India, no less than 87.85 per cent. was conveyed last year through the Canal, leaving less than 12½ per cent. to be brought round the Cape. The percentage of steam tonnage to the total tonnage, was in 1881-82, 62 per cent., in 1882-83, 58 per cent., and 63 per cent. in the last year. In 1882-83 the drawings of the Secretary of State amounted to Rs. 15,120,521 at an average rate of Exchange of 1s. 7.52d. In 1883-84 the drawings amounted to Rs. 1,75,99,805 at an average rate of 1s. 7.53d. More than four-fifths of the imports were received from England, China and Australia.

Report on the Municipal Taxation and Expenditure in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1883-84.

THE total expenditure from the general fund is shown to be Rupees 19,65,265. To this should be added the fourth instalment of payment to the reserve or sinking fund amounting to Rupees 32,498, which was not paid until April,

but was due for the year 1883-84. This would raise the expenditure to Rupees 1,99,763. The total expenditure of the year from the general fund exceeded the receipts by Rupees 50,003, instead of by Rupees 3,06,863 as provided for in the budget, and fell short of the amount Rupees (22,66,863) provided in the budget by Rupees 2,69,100. Of this decrease upwards of one lakh of Rupees was on account of the expenditure on bustee improvement, which fell largely short of the estimate—pleasant reading this. The Lieutenant-Governor is careful not to re-open the bustee controversy in this report. If the work of cleansing the Calcutta bustees was not done as thoroughly, or as extensively as it might have been done, yet some very good results were obtained in this direction:—

“The report showed that there are 124 bustees, with a total area of 1,582 bighas, in the north of Calcutta. The special establishment sanctioned during 1882-83 for the cleansing of bustees, consisted of 200 scavengers, called dhangurs, with 32 carts and 12 peons, under two Inspectors, assisted by one sircar each. They commenced their work in the north of the Town, and cleansed 72 bustees, covering an area of 1,270 bighas, which were then placed under a permanent staff of 156 dhangurs. The work thus done consisted of the removal of accumulations of refuse which was buried in holes and ditches and covered over with earth, the levelling of the surface, and the filling up of small ponds and hollows. In this way the whole of the bustees in Wards 4 and 8, and the greater part of those in Wards 2, 3, 6 and 9, were thoroughly cleansed, and a regular staff assigned to them to provide for their conservancy in the future. Exclusive of the bustees so treated, it seems that an area of 952 bighas remained outside the operations of the special establishment. It is explained that nearly the whole of this area was cleansed for the time by an extra establishment while the Exhibition was open, but the work done was not sufficiently thorough to admit of its being placed under permanent conservancy arrangements.”

Public Instruction ; Bengal, 1883-84.

THE general educational record for the last year is a somewhat disappointing one. The increase in schools has fallen from 10,809 to 1,369, and in pupils from 2,04,447 to 81,517. The expenditure from all sources was 75,51,000 in 1882-83, as against 74,83,000 in 1883-84. The number of Government Colleges rose from 12 to 13, the number of aided and unaided Colleges remaining the same. The number of College Students declined from 2,900 to 2,826; the loss in Government Colleges being 87, and in aided Colleges 238. This marked decrease in the number, under the head of aided Colleges, is due to the loss of 237 pupils sustained by the General Assembly's Institution. In all 1,280 candidates went up for the First Arts Examination. Of these 595 passed, a very good proportion indeed. 441 candidates went up for the B. A. Examination, and 205 passed. 71 candidates went up for the M. A. Degree, 46 for honors, and 25 for the ordinary degree. 35 of the former

and 19 of the latter were successful. In all 2,361 candidates went up for the Entrance, and of these 1,265 passed. On the whole, the results of the examinations were very satisfactory. Female education has made some progress. The number of schools rose from 1,398 to 1,785, and pupils from 27,485 to 32,167. In connexion with primary education, Mr. Croft offers some very practical and very valuable suggestions :—

"Taking the whole group of questions arising out of the changed conditions of primary education in Bengal, the Director's proposals may be summed up thus—

- (i)—To revise the course of instruction in both grades of primary schools, so as to make it more practically useful to the classes for whom it is designed.
- (ii)—Fix the pay of the masters of upper primary schools at from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 a month, and in course of time, raising it from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8.
- (iii)—To lay down definite standards for rewards below the standard of the lower primary scholarship.
- (iv)—To make the use of printed books obligatory in aided schools.
- (v)—To require, from every school seeking a reward, that it shall produce at least ten boys, shall have been in existence for ten months, and shall bring to the place of examination, attendance and inspection registers properly kept.

"All of these suggestions are in accordance with the principle laid down in the Resolution on last year's report, that the "consolidation and improvement of existing institutions should now be the main object of the local officers," and they will tend to introduce a uniform system which will enable future progress to be gauged by definite tests. But while the Lieutenant-Governor here expresses his general concurrence in them, he wishes to see, in a separate form, the financial effect of the second recommendation before finally approving it."

Rail-Borne Traffic of Bengal.

THERE appears to have been a somewhat serious falling off in the rail-borne traffic of Bengal. The returns for the quarter ending last September constitute very depressing reading, but the traffic has since shown symptoms of recovery. The gross weight of traffic earned during the quarter ending September 30th, was 39·64 per cent. below that of the corresponding quarter of the previous year. In the import traffic the falling off was so much as 18,35,683 maunds or 43·33 per cent., and in the export trade 11,20,832 or 34·77 per cent. More than five-sixths of the decrease in the import trade was due to the decline in the wheat trade, which fell off from 24,73,199 maunds to 9,08,131 maunds. The other articles, which showed a marked decrease, were linseed, mustard-seed and other oil-seeds. In the export trade the decrease was chiefly in iron and rice. The report is a sort of official version of an "orrible tale we have to tell."

Report of the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, for 1883-84.

THE total value of the traffic registered* amounted to Rupees 1,48,71,315, against Rupees 1,45,16,873 in 1882-83, and Rupees 1,45,62,943 in 1881-82. The gross value of the trade during 1883-84 was 2'44 per cent. in excess of the figures of the preceding year, and 2'12 per cent. over those of 1881-82. The import trade, however, shows a material falling off, the figures for the past year being 8'46 and 7'84 per cent. below those of the two previous years respectively.

It is difficult to understand how our trade with Nipal could be expected to flourish or increase. Let us see what our district officers have to say on the Customs administration of the Nepalese Government :—

“The Nepalese Government maintains no regular Custom House, and the imposts are levied on the farming system. Along the frontier of the Chumparun district, it is said that in some places the taxes are farmed, while in some places they are held khas. The Collector of Mozufferpore writes :—“The imposts in question are levied by thikadars, who are said to take annual farms of them from the Chowdhries, and these Chowdhries are said to be subordinate to an officer known as Captain.” The Collector of Durbhanga was informed that the farms along the frontier of his district were all disposed of from head-quarters (Khatmandoo), and that the local ‘Sooba’ had not even to keep an eye on the farmers for the prevention of any malpractices that they might be inclined to commit. The District Officer of Bhagulpore states, that the farmer of the sayer mehal, who is a British subject, “has to bid every year for the mehal, and he again sub-lets to highest bidders. The sayer mehal includes, besides the collection of import and export duties, the market-dues of all htās in the four pergunnahs, and *phulkar*, and a tax on hides. He has sub-lessees under him, but his name alone appears in the Nepal Government books, and he is solely responsible to the Nepalese Government. His lease gives him authority to levy market-dues, &c., only from the revenue-paying villages. The lakhirajdars of the revenue-free villages make their own arrangements as regards sayer dues.” The agency employed by the Nepalese Government in the Morung District of Nepal (marching with the district of Purneah), and along the border of the Darjeeling District, is not particularized in the local reports.”

Report on the Administration of the Customs Department of Bengal, for 1883-84.

THE gross and net Customs revenue collected in Bengal on all articles in 1883-84 was 2,04,87,365 as against 2,06,50,647 in 1882-83. The decline is chiefly due to the of falling off Rupees 64,479 in the salt duty, and of Rupees 1,40,473 in the export duty on rice. The reduced export of the latter article was the natural consequence of a short crop, and the same cause has probably tended to defer the gradual increase in the consumption of salt. Import duties, exclusive

of salt, show a small increase of Rupees 26,572 or 1·8 per cent. due to larger collections under the heads of liquor, arms and ammunition. Looking to the returns for the several ports, it will be seen that Calcutta has fallen by 2 per cent., while that of the imports has risen in varying proportions.

The total value of the imports into Bengal, exclusive of Government transactions, rose from Rupees 28,37,25,812 to Rupees 30,06,49,292. The rise was most marked in foreign merchandise, where it exceeded one crore and thirty-seven lakhs.

The value of the export trade of the year was Rupees 43,56,07,096, against Rupees 42,46,65,199 in 1882-83, in the foreign trade exports rose in value from Rupees 34,43,30,483 to Rupees 36,21,33,528. The total coasting trade exports show a decline from Rupees 8,03,34,716 to Rupees 7,34,73,568 owing to the reduced exports of Indian produce and to small shipments of silver to ports in British Burmah. On the other hand, this was a considerable increase in the export of foreign merchandise, such as cotton twist and yarn to Madras, and piece-goods to British Burmah.

Report on the Cawnpore Experimental Farm, 1883-84.

EXPERIMENTS were carried on (within the limits of the farm) under almost every head of possible agricultural improvement: improved implements, irrigation, deep-ploughing, silos, green soiling, and the general result was most satisfactory. But the conservative spirit of the Indian agriculturist is a terrible obstacle to agricultural improvement. Mr. Smeaton says:—

“I would remark, in conclusion, that in the past five years during which the farm has been carried on, certain practical improvements in the manner of treating the soil, in the kind of implements used, and in rotation of crops, appear to have been completely established. But these interesting and important improvements have, for very obvious reasons, not gone very far beyond the four corners of the farm itself. They have not reached the mass of cultivators for whom they are intended, and for whom they may be of very great value indeed. Such simple and inexpensive improvements as green soiling with hemp, manuring with brick-kiln refuse, deep-ploughing, cultivation of wheat in ridges after lucerne, the simple and efficient Duplex ploughs, are of very real agricultural importance. Efforts should now be made to disseminate far and wide a correct knowledge of these improvements and to obtain, by every possible means, their adoption by the mass of cultivators. The money spent in the experiments of the past five years will have been absolutely wasted unless effectual means be now taken, and money spent in inducing the cultivator to appropriate the results, and put them in practice on his land. Neither pains nor money should be grudged.”

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Narrative of a Journey from Herat to Khiva, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. By Captain James Abbott: W. H. Allen & Co., Waterloo Place, London.

THIS book has already gone through a third edition, and we believe that a fourth is on the eve of publication. It is a most important contribution to Central Asian literature, a literature growing in extent, importance and general popular interest with every step of the Russian advance towards our Indian frontier. It is a little unfortunate that Captain Abbott should commence his narrative at the period of his departure from Herat in 1839. Khiva and the kingdom of Khaurism, the scene of his journey and adventures, have gone from us beyond all hope of recovery, but Herat has not yet fallen into the hands of the Russians. For the moment public interest centres round Herat and its defences, and it is also curious and unfortunate that Mr. Marvin's otherwise admirable compilation, contains a very meagre account of Herat. But apart from any political importance which it possesses at the present time, Captain Abbott's narrative is very well worth reading indeed.

He is a most graphic writer, and a born explorer: patient, adventurous, keen-witted; a man who fulfilled the dangerous and delicate mission entrusted to him in the most faithful and thorough manner possible. He is no hater of the Russians. On the contrary, what he saw of the Russian people, seems to have created a very favorable impression on his mind. In the preface to the 3rd edition (written this year 1884), Captain Abbott brings his impressions of the Russian advance on India, as it were, up to date. He says:—

"She is now mistress of Askabad, of Merve, of Sumikund; Bokhara is a Russian dependency. We have presented to her the all-important port of Batoum, in the Euxine, the acquisition of which alone she deemed cheap at the expense of the last Russo-Turkish War: for without it her march on India was crippled. We have* allowed, nay, encouraged her, despite all prudential considerations, and in defiance of a thousand warnings, to overpass the natural, almost insuperable, barrier that guarded

* A dozen alert Englishmen, with the hearty co-operation of the Tooroomuns, might have frustrated all four expeditions, if allowed by our Government to act.

India, and to establish herself within our outer and most important line of works. To build at Cabul, by Afghaun hands, with Russian gold, fortified barracks for sixteen thousand men, which her troops can, at any time and unknown to us, enter whenever it suits her to advance; and the Afghauns, our natural allies, we have made our bitterest enemies. What steps do we purpose, to remedy (if possible) our past stumbling policy, or fanatic contempt of all rational precaution? The case is urgent, for any misunderstanding in Europe may precipitate matters on our Indian frontier, where Russia, piloted by the Afghaun nation, who will keep open for her the passes, is waiting, and will lose not an hour in her advance, beyond the moment, not of a declaration, but of the probability of hostilities.*

Is the British Lion prepared (as the Russians boastingly assert) to crouch and lick the feet of the Great White Emperor, and implore his permission to live? or is there still some red blood left in his pampered arteries? If there be, it behoves him by watchfulness and promptitude to atone for his past trance under the influence of Russian mesmerism, to be up and alert in rendering the line of battle he may select infrangible to the assault of a powerful and disciplined army. It will never do to remain wavering in the choice of that line, whether Herat, or Candahar, or the Afghaun passes. For already has Russia prepared in detail her plan of operations for each alternative, and any unreadiness on our part means irreparable damage to ourselves, and to the two hundred millions whom we are sworn to protect."

These are weighty words from an impartial, well-informed, and trustworthy authority.

The Ordinances of Manu. Translated from the Sanskrit with an Introduction. By the late Arthur Coke Burnell, Ph. D., C. I. E. Completed and Edited by Edward W. Hopkins, Ph. D., of Columbian College, N. Y. London: Trunber & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1884.

THOUGH the so-called "Laws of Manu" have, in the light of modern criticism, ceased to possess for the historian or the philosopher the supreme value that was once attached to them, the hold they have obtained on the popular imagination, and the paramount influence they have exercised on legislation and on the decisions of the Indian Courts, have invested them with a practical importance which nothing but a complete codification of Hindu law can altogether supersede. A new translation of the *Mánava-Dharma-Sāstra*, based on the ampler knowledge of the present day, must therefore necessarily be a work of high practical utility, and we could hardly have a worthier memorial of the late Dr. Burnell than the volume before us.

Of the translation, which is based mainly on the text of Kuttuka, somewhat more than half had been completed when he died. For the rest, commencing from Lecture VIII, 16,

* As we saw her act during the last Russo-Turkish War.

the public are indebted to Dr. Hopkins, who is also responsible for a number of corrections which Dr. Burnell might have been expected to make had he lived, and for a large portion of the notes to the earlier part of the text.

To the translation is prefixed an introduction by Dr. Burnell, obviously incomplete, containing a dissertation on the real nature and history of the original, and a criticism of its value as an authority.

It has been long since ascertained that not only is the *Mánabha-Dharma-Sástra* not by Manu, if any such person ever existed, but it is merely a metrical recension of an older prose treatise, in all probability the *Dharma-Sástra* of the *Mánavas*, one of the branches of the *Maitráyana School* of the *Black Yajur Veda*. So far Dr. Burnell is in agreement with Weber, Max Müller and other Sanskritists. Whether the further attempt made by him to fix the date of the work, which he considers to have been almost certainly composed about 500 A. D., under the *Cálukya* sovereign, *Gulakeci*, at *Kalyanapurí* in the *Dekkan*, is conclusive, may be doubted. To us the evidence appears largely hypothetical. That, as he supposes, it was a popular work, intended for the use of *Rajas* and similar persons, and not for *Brahmans*, appears probable from the comparative simplicity of the language.

As to the authority of the *Mánaba-Sástra*, it was merely one of a large number of similar works, used as guides by those who administered the laws, but in no sense entitled to be regarded as codes promulgated by sovereign authority.

One of the results of the misunderstanding which has assigned to it a paramount value, has been to subject the non-Brahminical and even non-Aryan tribes to gross injustice by systematically ignoring their local and peculiar laws.

Instead, moreover, of making any attempt to use the text critically, the Courts and lawyers have relied blindly on the very imperfect translation of Sir William Jones.

The Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila, with Illustrative Extracts from the Commentaries. Translated by James R. Ballantyne, I.L.D., late Principal of the Benares College. Third Edition. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1885.

AS Dr. Hall informs the reader in his preface, this work is an amended reprint of three volumes, published thirty years ago, by Dr. Ballantyne, and followed, some ten years later, by an abridgement which has since become very scarce.

Some of the amendments now introduced have been adopted by the Editor from the abridgement, and, of the remainder, the

greater portion had been independently submitted to and approved by Dr. Ballantyne. Other renderings, which have subsequently suggested themselves to Dr. Hall, have been embodied in foot-notes, and numerous variants of the aphorisms, derived from accessible commentaries, are also given.

The work displays a vast expenditure of labour and scholarship for which students of Hindoo philosophy have every reason to be grateful to Dr. Hall and the publishers ; but it is, perhaps, open to question, whether the original is worth the sacrifice it must have entailed on both.

Powells' Indian Trust Act. Higginbotham & Co., Madras.

A CAPITAL, popular treatise on a most important branch of law. There are certain departments of law in connection with which every man ought, to a certain extent at least, be his own lawyer. Foremost among these are all the legal provisions relating to wills and trusts. Mr. Powell has done admirable service to the public in placing before it in a brief, yet clear and masterly manner, all the duties and liabilities connected with all forms of public and private trust.

Bulandshahr, or Sketches of an Indian District : Social, Historical, and Architectural. By F. S. Growse.

ALMOST the whole of this work has appeared before, partly in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, and partly in our columns. Mr. Growse has done well in bringing together his separate papers. The result is an interesting and handsome volume. An account of the district and its history is given, but the main purpose of the book is a protest against the Public Works Department. Mr. Growse becomes quite eloquent over its iniquities. Its work is expensive, out of harmony with Indian circumstances, and its taste in architecture is atrocious. The work could be done cheaper and better by Native local agencies. Such is Mr. Growse's charge, and who that compares one of the beautiful photographs in the book of recent native architecture with a P.-W. D. cutcherry can quite gainsay his arguments? But apart from its controversial side, the book is most interesting as a record that there is still hope of native architecture.

A Fly on the Wheel, or how I helped to govern India. By Colonel Thomas Lewin. W. H. Allen & Co., Waterloo Place: London.

PRESSURE on our space compels us to postpone, until next issue, a detailed notice of this most interesting and instructive book. Colonel Lewin owns the pen of a ready and graphic writer. His experiences in India were full of adventure, incident and variety, and his descriptions of the wild tribes on our Lushai frontier are as good in their way as anything that the author of the *Great Lone Land* has ever given us.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Misarajdttri Bāṅgali. By Syámálál Mitra. Printed by Manimohan Rakshit at the Sadharan Brahma Samaj Press, 81, Bāránasi Ghosh's Street, and Published by Adityakumár Chatterji, B. A., Head Master, Bethune School, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

THE author of this work, a Bengali gentleman, went to Egypt in 1882, as a clerk in the Transport Department, connected with the Indian Contingent, which was despatched from this country in that year to fight Arabi Pacha. He writes chiefly about the war, and in an incidental manner about what he did and saw during his brief stay with the Indian army in Egypt. His description of the war is vigorous and graphic. He praises very highly the valour and skill which were displayed by the English Generals in the campaign, and admires again and again the courage and energy with which both English and Indian soldiers fought in it. He is, however, strongly opposed to the policy of the war which he describes as a war against the freedom of the Egyptian people. He expresses warm sympathy with Arabi Pacha, whom he regards as the leader of the truly national party in the war, and he is almost vehement in his denunciation of the part played by England in the war. It was a shame, says he, that war which England fought against the Egyptian people and their freedom. They were a glorious band of heroes and patriots, that Arabi and his companions, whom freedom-loving England so shamelessly drove out of Egypt. The following translated extract contains a description of the country around Cairo on the day following the capture of Tel-el-Kebir:—

“In some places, soldiers plundered as they strolled along the roads exhausted by the operations of the war; in some places soldiers, inflamed with pride, maltreated helpless Egyptian women; in some places, impelled by ungovernable greed of gold,

soldiers with drawn swords in their hands plundered panic-struck households ; in some places hungry and thirsty wayfarers, assuming frowning appearances, filled their stomachs with morsels of food snatched from the hands of the weak. Whichever way you turned your eye, Egypt was full of such fearful sights as these. The villages were full of the heart-rending wailings and screams of the young, the old, and the women. I travelled on in the direction of Cairo, witnessing everywhere such fearful sights as these. There was no knowing how the men dispersed themselves in different directions after the fight. My companions had gone away, leaving me behind ; and armed with weapons, I was riding alone. For three days I had got no food ; one day only I had eaten a few dates from some roadside trees, and what remained of our provisions after the fight. On the second day I got no food, and simply slaked my thirst with the muddy water of the *Khal*. This was the third day, and I had yet obtained no food. The sun had passed the meridian, and yet no village or human abode was to be seen. My horse was exhausted with fasting and continuous travelling over sandy roads, so much so, that it seemed, it pained it to advance one step more. I was also enormously hungry ; I felt restless, and my life seemed to be on the point of extinction. My eyes, at intervals, began to close of themselves, and my last moment seemed not far distant. I remained for some moments in an absolutely senseless condition.

On re-opening my eyes, I found that my horse had arrived near a green plot of ground, with its bridle, which was no longer in my hand, hanging loosely from its neck. I soon entered a small village, whose miserable condition pained my heart. The trees in the village, with their fruits and flowers, torn or plucked, looked beaten and stripped, and the houses were without men and cattle. Beautiful articles lay scattered all round half broken or broken into small pieces ; and every object gave evidence of the oppressors' fearful oppression. Slowly I rode from one end of the village to another, but it seemed not that there was there a single living soul. The hope which the sight of the village had awakened in my mind gave way to disappointment, and I began to reflect seriously on my condition. The little strength which I had felt in my limbs at the prospect of at last getting something to eat again deserted me. At this time I heard an indistinct and not very distant sound, which told me of the presence of man, and full of delight, I cast anxious and expectant glances around. What I saw my pen is not strong enough to record, and my tongue becomes paralysed to relate. I saw a helpless and pale-faced Egyptian girl screaming for the fear of losing her chastity at the hands of a cruel and cowardly white soldier. How piteously she implored and entreated the fiend in her

own vernacular ! But blinded completely by his beastly passion, the heartless wretch listened not at all to the heart-rending cries of the unfortunate girl. On the contrary, breaking forth into demoniac laughter, he threw his arm forcibly round the lady's waist and strove to put her down. I saw this fearful sight from a distance, and felt at once the strength of a hero in my almost lifeless body, in the body which hunger had brought to the point of prostration. In a trice I drove my horse in the direction of that girl. On seeing me coming so suddenly to the rescue of the poor girl, the wretched man feeling disappointed and alarmed, quickly fled away. Instantly, I alighted from my horse in one bound, and in the twinkling of an eye stood at the lady's side. I cannot describe how the lady, taking hold of my right hand, and in a voice which was almost choked with joy, expressed her thanks to me in her own vernacular. Joy seemed bursting out of her large eyes and out of those cheeks down which tear-drops were rolling. I understood not a single word of hers. A few moments had hardly passed when the rescued girl, intimating to me to follow her, went along a narrow path, and soon arrived at the door of a house in front of which was a small garden, and entreated me with grateful eyes to enter into it. I followed her within without fear or hesitation. Leaving me in the open compound of the house, she entered into it with lightning rapidity. I waited for some moments reflecting on the sad occurrences I had beheld, and then an Egyptian youth came out and taking me by the hand, conducted me within the house. On going there, I found the household furniture and utensils confusedly cast about, an elderly Egyptian couple filling a wooden box with the best clothes and jewels of the family, and a young girl standing near them. They were preparing to leave their house, and fly to some safe place. They all eagerly welcomed me as I entered, in words which meant something like this—"May *Allah* make you happy, may He bless you with prosperity in all matters, do you take your seat in this humble abode ! " On my taking my seat on the wooden stool on which they were sitting, they expressed to me their delight and gratitude in a manner which baffles description, and addressed me in some such style as this—"What is your name ? We are your servants ; do you accept our worship," &c. They soon perceived that I was sorely in need of creature comforts, and at once placed before me their coarse bread, some cooked vegetables, and dates, and a jug full of cool drinking water. I eagerly joined them in the repast, which, although it consisted of very coarse bread and vegetables cooked to suit tastes very different from my own, infused new strength into my almost lifeless body. That repast gave me a delight and a satisfaction which I have

not felt at any other occasion in my life. Perhaps it is not given to even wealthy rulers of men to enjoy such delight and satisfaction. I took a short repose after the repast during which the family were engaged in completing their preparations for flight. . . . I fell into a short slumber, and on waking from it, found my horse fully stuffed with fodder and trampling upon the remains of its feast. The family, with all their arrangements for flight completed, were awaiting, in a spirit of devout hospitality, my awaking from sleep. A camel stood there with the family baggage on its back and four handsome horses, fully equipped, were waiting to carry them away. The people of Egypt consider hospitality a very noble virtue. If their bitterest enemies seek protection in their homes, they cast aside all ideas of revenge and serve them with all their might. When the time for leave-taking arrived, the husband of the girl came up to me, and sitting on his knees, and taking both my hands in one of his, he took out a beautiful ring from one of the fobs of his jacket, and entreated me in a variety of ways to accept it. When I absolutely refused to accept it, they all looked rather sorrowful. I tried to console them by making known to them how I felt on the subject, but failed. They did not look cheerful again. And thus, for some time, we rode along the bank of the canal. I knew not that the women of Egypt were so beautiful and so brave. Having travelled a long distance on horseback, they arrived at their destination immediately after dusk, and bade me farewell with hearts full of gratitude. Following the directions which they gave me, I came to the nearest Railway Station.

The author says that he had to do very hard work in Egypt, which left him little time to see enough of the country and its people, and that is the reason why his narrative is not fuller or more varied. He thus speaks of his work in the camp at Abassia :—

“There is not a man whose heart will not be pained, there are not eyes that will not overflow with tears if I relate the fearful sufferings which I silently endured for nearly one month. Early in the morning I had to commence work ; at 9 o'clock I had to go to the Abassia palace to bring orders for the day ; and, on my return, I had to look to the promulgation of those orders. At 2 o'clock, when my superior officer took his tiffin, I got half-an-hour's leisure. But even that leisure I did not get every day. Allaying as best I could my hunger and thirst in the very office itself, I commenced my work anew, and got no time for rest, till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. After that I used to roll restlessly on my bed for not more than one hour, and finishing my ablutions one hour before sun-rise, again went

to office to at once take up the stated role of work. During that period I could find time only one day to bathe, and not sufficient time one day to eat my meal."

But the author does not complain so much of the hard work he had to do in Egypt as of the harsh treatment to which, as he says, he was subjected by one of the European officers above him. Speaking of the time which he spent in the camp near the Abdin palace, the author says:—

"On coming here I had to endure many new and unendurable sufferings. I had to bear every day sufferings, of which I had no conception even in a dream. The pressure of my work increased so much, that I had not the smallest time to eat or sleep for nearly a week preceding our departure from Egypt. Besides this, so many misfortunes occurred, that I know not how to describe them. My heart was seized with new afflictions every day. A higher grade English transport officer began to practise so much oppression every day upon his subordinates, that they became absolutely impatient under their sufferings. I had previously no idea that the heart of man could be so hard, so cruel, or so beastly. His bestial cruelty increased day after day. The oppression he practised every day upon the poor and truly loyal Indian, it is not in my power to describe. There was not, perhaps, a man in the Transport Department who did not lose all patience under his cruel treatment. . . . The tear is coming out of my eyes, and my heart is aching again to relate what I myself beheld, and to describe those insufferable agonies which my helpless companions endured every day: I shall not feel afraid if, in disclosing what really occurred, I incur the displeasure of others, provoke the anger of Government officers, or if they shower abuse upon me or take steps again to injure me in any other way. I am no longer a suppliant for their favor. It is positively painful to me to describe the sort of treatment I have received from Englishmen to whose service I twice dedicated my soul and my life, for whose sake I have plunged in grief my nearest and dearest relations, taken lasting leave of love and pity and affection, and all the other divine attributes of humanity, and thrown myself, again and again and with alacrity into the sea of misery. My heart breaks, as it were, when I recollect what I have received in return for all these sufferings and privations. Who is there that will, when afflicted with hunger, kick away from him the cup of nectar instead of drinking it off? Who is there that voluntarily seeks the miseries and troubles of the battle-field, leaving the happy country of his birth, and the company of those that are dear to him? If there is one that does, it is not the Bengali, especially when the war, like this war, is one with which no righteous principle is connected. In the excess of my heart's

grief I have forgotten what I was going to relate. A poem, which might be appropriately entitled "English Pride," would be the result if the whole story of suffering were related openly and without reserve. I have neither time nor ability to do that. In a few words I shall describe English oppression in Egypt. I do not cherish in my heart any desire of revenge for what I have suffered. The utmost injury that man can do to man has been done to me; but for that I will not say one word to any one. The God of my heart, who has seen everything, will do what is proper in respect of that. I will only speak of one or two days' sufferings of my poor, helpless and ill-fated companions; and that even not to-day, but at some future time. I know not why the white man so much hates the dark man, and regards him as a beast. I have heard that in far old times, the Sudras were despised and trampled upon as cats and dogs by the Brahmans. But even the Brahmans were never guilty of such cruel treatment. Leaving his country and kinsmen for the most trifling remuneration, the Indian, exhausted by fast and want of rest, and perspiring in all the pores of his body under the fiercely-burning sun, is doing the Englishman's work. Though about to die of thirst, fear prevents him from allaying it with water, either because there is no water to drink or because he is afraid of being beaten by his master if he leaves his work for a moment. If any one leaves his work for a moment to drink water, he is done for. The English officer will fine him one month's pay, inflict upon his person a dozen strokes of the ratan, or degrade him from a higher to a lower grade of service. It would, however, have been well if the matter had ended there. At night, after a whole day's work, the unfortunate Indians, having prepared a plain meal of bread and *dal*, are about to eat it, when they hear that the Saheb is coming, and is not far off. They were about to sit down to eat after a whole day, and they at once stood away, foregoing the food that was almost raised to their mouths; they had to go without their meal that day. The Saheb came and at once stood where their food was. How could he bear to see them sit down together and eat a meal which they would have made cheerful to themselves by opening their hearts to each other as they ate? Immediately after his arrival, he imputed various faults to those unfortunate men and showered abuse upon them in vile language. Almost beside himself, like a mad elephant, he displayed his heroism by assailing the backs and breasts of the unfortunate Indians with the stick or horse-whip which was in his hand. And, last of all, with both his legs he began to destroy the food they had prepared! But even this did not satisfy his cruel cravings! Violently he pulled down their tent and went away! And then the poor unfortunate

Indians, after a whole day's hard work, passed the night in a state of fast and agony, full of sorrow and suffering, thinking of the happiness of their native land, lying on a bed of sand under the canopy of the infinite sky, and shivering in the cold of the uncovered field. And they thought all the while that they would have to rise before the night was over and assume their respective tasks."

This is impassioned language, and making some deduction for the ordinary nervousness and ornateness of the author's style, there seems still to remain an element of seriousness in this writing which cannot be lightly passed by, and which ought to arrest the attention of all true and earnest men.

We should have preferred to see this book written in a plainer style. Facts require plain handling and become obscure or doubtful in appearance when they are related in an impassioned or fanciful style. An impassioned or fanciful style means a passionate or fancifully-disposed observer who may have seen things through the medium of feeling or humour. And things which are so seen and described are not plain facts, but something very different therefrom. Bengali authors should bear in mind that different things require different styles of treatment, and that they either forget or ignore, and most certainly frustrate the very object of writing books when in describing facts, which should be an author's principal business in a book of travels like the one under notice, they adopt the style which is properest for a poem or a harangue. There is unfortunately a lamentable ignorance or want of appreciation among ordinary Bengali authors of these fundamental rules of literary composition, and that is why we have availed ourselves of this opportunity to draw their attention to this important point. The book under notice, interesting as it is, would have been doubly so if it had been written in a plain matter-of-fact style.

Sonar Kâti, Rupdr Kâti. A Paper read by Babu Dwijendranath Tagore at a meeting of the Bowbazar Sâbitri Library, on the 27th Magh, 1291 B. S. Printed by B. N. Nandi, at the Valmiki Press, 40, Guruprasâd Chaudhuri's Lane. and Published by Debendranath Bhanja, Calcutta, 1291 B. S.

WE seldom come across such sharp, clever and smart writing as we find in the pamphlet before us. Babu Dwijendranath Tagore, one of the best Bengali authors of the day, has dealt with the dress question recently discussed in the Native Press in consequence of some remarks privately made by Lord Dufferin in connection with it. His treatment of the subject is fearfully earnest and patriotic. His arguments are unanswerable, and the feeling of patriotic pride and indignation with which

he jets off missile after missile against those little-minded and denationalized Babus, who think that the essence of humanity consists in hating everything that belongs to their own country, and in concealing their birth, paternity, pedigree and all under the hat, coat, and pantaloons of the ugly-looking Sahib is simply irresistible. The whole performance is a satire of the most cutting kind, and it is certain that whoever has flesh and blood but is erring and human enough yet to be able to perceive that he is erring, will feel himself cut deep and through and through. And then the knife of the Master-Surgeon will not have been driven in vain. And it is in that hope that the Master-Surgeon has himself taken the knife in his hand. For he is no mere marauder, no savage butcher, but a humane doctor, who will not give you pain except for the purpose of curing you of a malady. And the good Doctor feels, in this instance, that the malady which he has attacked with his incomparable skill and learning, is an infectious one, is therefore already spreading, may go on spreading more and more rapidly, and, like most infectious maladies, may sooner or later so far affect the very mental structure and constitution of a whole lot of people as to render organised life and healthy growth an absolute impossibility among them.

It is these possible, nay, probable effects and consequences of the malady, and not the malady itself, which the noble Doctor fears most, and it is therefore that he is anxious to treat with such exceptional rigor those in whom the malady has made its appearance. We do not know whether we should be right in so saying, but it seems to us that the distinguished writer would either root out the disease or place a ring round those whom it has attacked in order to prevent its spread. For viewing this question of the adoption of foreign habits and manners from the highest standpoint which its most ardent advocates could select in reference to it, viz., *universal catholicity*, it seems to be clear that the position is an absolutely indefensible one. The idea of nationality contains among its many factors an idea of exclusiveness of spirit which, however mischievous or unnecessary it may be in the so-called millenium of the human race, is particularly useful and wholesome until the realisation of that theocratic dream of the world. So long as a thing is not fully formed, you must keep it aside and by itself, in order that it may grow up to something, and not dissolve into nothing. It may be for the good of the full-grown man to expose himself to extremes of heat and cold, to go everywhere, and to know everything. But the wisdom of letting an infant, a child, or even a young man do so, may be seriously questioned. So it is with nations. So long as they are not fully formed or organised the wholesome and necessary exclusiveness of the nursery must

be strictly and jealously maintained, and the pompous theory of universal catholicity unhesitatingly rejected as a mischievous absurdity in national physiology or nation-making. Peoples with advanced national organisations like the English, the French and the Germans, may afford to be a little catholic, though we all know that they are in many respects the most exclusive peoples in the world. But for the neo-Bengalis (as all English-knowing Bengalis may be styled,) to endeavour to be catholic, that is to say, to be anything and everything, would certainly be to court disorganisation and death. If you would organise yourself, you must go on moulding yourself to the size and proportions of a definite diagram, and not disperse yourself over an indeterminate and indeterminable plane. In this lies the true meaning and absolute necessity of national exclusiveness. It is this spirit of national exclusiveness which ought to be jealously fostered and encouraged among the unformed peoples of India. And Indian thinkers and patriots ought to keep themselves all the more awake and sensitive on this point, because the catholic side of European literature, which is more intelligible, interesting and attractive to Asiatics than its national or exclusive side, is inevitably weakening the exclusive and for mative force of the Indian mind, and strengthening its catholic and disruptive tendencies. This is the greatest national danger that English education has created in this country, and more might than what the people of India now possess will be probably required to put it down. As a specimen of that might, Babu Dwijendranath's admirable essay is remarkably hopeful and encouraging.

Into the arguments of Babu Dwijendranath, we will not enter here. Any summary we could give of them would simply act like a screen to veil their perfect beauty and symmetry from the reader's view. But we cannot help noticing one point. And that is that, though full of the spirit of national exclusiveness, Babu Dwijendranath is catholic in the truest sense of the word. He is a thinker, and he knows that national life and progress require lending and borrowing among nations. He does not object to that. But he will not allow you to respect the man who does not respect you. He will not allow you to become in appearance and in spirit like that English master who, when his native clerk went out of his room after drinking out of his own glass of water, dashed the glass on the floor and smashed it in pieces, as if the man that had touched it was an abomination.* But his attitude is very different towards the Indian Mussulman. Of him he speaks as follows :—

হিন্দু-স্থানী মুসলমান ছাড়া আর কে-কোন-দেশীয় মুসলমানকে

দেখনা কেন, — ইরাণী মুসলমান, তুরাণী মুসলমান, কারুলি মুসলমান, বাহাকেই দেখনা কেন — দেখিবে যে, হিন্দুস্থানী মুসলমানদের পরিচ্ছদের সঙ্গে তাহাদের পরিচ্ছদের কোন সাদৃশ্য নাই; ইহাতে স্পষ্টই বুঝিতে পারা যায় যে, এদেশীয় মুসলমানেরা যেমন বীণ ভাঙিয়া সেতার করিয়াছে, মল্লার রাগিনী ভাঙিয়া মিশ্রণ মল্লার করিয়াছে, আমাদের দেশীয় ভাষা ভাঙিয়া উর্দু সৃষ্টি করিয়াছে, সেইরূপ আমাদের দেশীয় পরিচ্ছদ ভাঙিয়া চাপ্‌কান পায়জামা প্রভৃতি পরিচ্ছদ প্রস্তুত করিয়াছে। যে-জাতি একশত বিষয়ে আমাদের জাতির নিকটে খণী, সে জাতি যে, এক-শ-এক বিষয়ে আমাদের জাতির নিকটে খণী হইবে — ইহাতে কিছুই বিচিত্র নাই। প্রথম প্রথম হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে পরস্পর কেবল মারামারি কাটাকাটিই চলিয়াছিল; অবশেষে রাজনীতিজ্ঞ আকবর শাহ হিন্দুদিগকে ঠাণ্ডা করিবার মানসে হিন্দুসভ্যতার নানাবিধ উপকরণ স্বজাতির মধ্যে প্রচলিত করিয়াছিলেন — ইহা একটি ঐতিহাসিক সত্য। আবার আকবরের সময় হইতে মুসলমান রাজারা যেরূপ জামাজোড়া ও খিড়কিনার পাগুড়ি ব্যবহার করিতেন সে রূপ পরিচ্ছদ ভারতবর্ষ ছাড়া পৃথিবীস্থ আর কোন দেশেই প্রচলিত নাই — ইহাতে স্পষ্টই প্রমাণ হইতেছে যে সে পরিচ্ছদগুলি নিতান্ত-পক্ষেই ভারতবর্ষীয়; সে গুলি যদি মুসলমানী হইত তবে তাহা ইরাণে, তুরাণে, আরবে বা অন্য কোন মুসলমানী দেশে অবশ্যই প্রচলিত থাকিত। আমাদের দেশের সুবিখ্যাত পুরাতত্ত্ববিৎ জ্যোক্ত বাবু রাজেন্দ্রলাল মিত্র জলের ত্যায় স্পষ্ট করিয়া দেখাতিয়াছেন যে, জামাজোড়া ও খিড়কিনার পাগুড়ি আমরা মুসলমানদিগের নিকট হইতে পাই নাই — মুসলমানেরাই আমাদের নিকট হইতে পাইরাছে। মুসলমানেরা যখন হিন্দুদের শত শত বিষয়ের অনুকরণ করিয়াছে, তখন, আমরা যদি এখন তাহাদের কোন কিছুর অনুকরণ করি তবে তাহাতে হিন্দুমুসলমানের মধ্যে সৌজন্যের বিনিময় হয় মাত্র, কাহাণী তাহাতে জাতির অপমৌরব হয়না। পূর্বে মুসলমানেরা আমাদের ধর্মের প্রতিই খড়াহস্ত ছিলেন, কিন্তু আমাদের জাতিকে তাঁহারা মাথায় তুলিয়াছিলেন, মুসলমান সম্রাটের প্রধান সেনাপতি ছিলেন মানসিংহ, প্রধান কার্যাব্যাক্ত ছিলেন তোদর-

মল, প্রধান মন্ত্রী ছিলেন বীরবল, প্রধান গায়ক ছিলেন তান-সেন, ইংরাজ সকলেই জাতিতে হিন্দু। যে-জাতি আমাদের জাতির ভাষা ভাঙিয়া আপনাদের উর্দু ভাষা গ্রহণ করিতে এক বিন্দুও কুণ্ঠিত হইলনা, এমন কি, যে জাতি আপনাদের জন্মভূমি পর্যন্ত বিস্মৃত হইয়া ভারতবর্ষকে স্বদেশরূপে বরণ করিল সে জাতিকে কি আমরা আর পর বলিয়া উপেক্ষা করিতে পারি? তাহা যদি করি তবে তাহাতে আমাদের নিতান্তই অসৌজন্য প্রকাশ পায় — তাহা অত্যন্ত অভ্যাজিত কার্য। বাকালি মুসলমানেরা ধূতি পর্যন্ত পরে — মুসলমানীরা সাড়ি পর্যন্ত পরে — তাহাতে তাহাদের জাতি যায়না। হিন্দু মুসলমানেরা ধর্মেই কেবল মুসলমান — কিন্তু জাতিতে ভারতবর্ষীয়। ** এখন যদি আমরা তাঁহাদের কোন কিছুই অনুকরণ করি, তবে আমরা আপনাদের লোকেরই অনুকরণ করি — পরানুকরণ করিনা। পরানুকরণ বলে কাহাকে? না যে জাতি আমাদের কাছে তাহার চরণের এক রেণু বলিয়াও গণ্য করেনা — সেই জাতির অনুকরণই পরানুকরণ।

Which may be rendered thus (though very inadequately) :—

“Look at any Mussulman except the Hindustani-Mussulman — look at the Irani Mussulman, at the Turani Mussulman, at the Arab Mussulman, at the Mussulman of Kabul—you will see that there is no resemblance between their dresses and the dress of the Hindustani-Mussulman. This makes it perfectly clear that, as the Indian Mussulmans modelled their *Setar* upon our *Bin*, derived their *Mian-mallár* (a musical tune) from our *Mallar-rágini*, constructed their Urdu dialect out of our indigenous vernaculars, so they made *chapkan*, *payajama*, and other articles of their dress upon the model of our own dress. It is not at all strange that the people who are indebted to us in a hundred items should have been indebted to us in a hundred and one items. At first, and in the beginning, Hindus and Mussulmans only fought and killed each other. But in the end the politic Akbar, with the view of appeasing the Hindus, introduced among his own people many of the elements of Hindu civilisation. That is historically true. Again the sort of *khirkidar-pugri* (head-dress) and *jama-jorá* (garments for the body), which Mussulman Emperors wore from the time of Akbar, are not in use in any other country of the world, except India. This clearly proves that those articles of dress, at any rate are Indian. If they had been Mussulman in origin, they would

certainly have been in use in Iran, in Turan, in Arabia, or in some other Mussulman country. Our celebrated antiquarian Dr. Rajendralál Mitra has made it as clear to us as daylight that it was not *we* who got the *jama-jord* and the *khirkidar-pugri* from the Musulmans, but the *Mussulmans* who got them from us. And, as the Mussulmans have imitated the Hindus in a hundred points, for us to imitate them now in some one point, would be a simple exchange of social amenity, not involving loss of national honour. Formerly, Mussulmans were hostile only to our religion, but they highly respected us as a nation. The Commander-in-Chief of the Moghul Emperor was Man Sinha, his principal state-manager was Todar Mal, his principal Minister was Birbal, his chief musician was Tana-Sena, all Hindu in nationality. Can we, or should we, disregard and disesteem as strangers and foreigners the nation who felt not the smallest hesitation in constructing their own Urdu language out of the language of our own nation, aye, the nation who forgot even the country of their birth and adopted India as their own country? If we do that, we shall be guilty of grave discourtesy; to do so would be the extreme of ungentlemanliness. Bengali Mussulmans wear even the *dhoti*—Bengali Mussulmans wear even the *sári*; they do not lose their nationality thereby. The Mussulmans of Hindustan are Mussulman only in religion; in nationality they are Indian. . . If we now take or imitate anything that belongs to them, we take from, or imitate our own people, not strangers or foreigners. What do you mean by imitating strangers or foreigners? It means imitating the people who do not reckon us even as they reckon the particle of dust that clings to their feet."

And the writing is equally sharp, vigorous and pointed throughout. It is a splendid pamphlet in Bengali we have received after many a long day, and we earnestly and sincerely pray that the spirit in which it is written will be rightly appreciated, and the noble object of its writer realised in no long time. The whole nation should listen with respect and attention to the advice of one of its soundest thinkers and warmest well-wishers.

Jibani-Saṅgraha. By Amritalál Basu. Printed and Published by Haridás Mánná at the Kumudbandhu Press, 2, Abhaya Charan Ghosh's Lane, Syamapukur, Calcutta, 1884.

IN the English portion of the title-page this work is called "A collection of Memoirs of the Six Distinguished Patriots—Ramdoolal De, Dr. Durga Charan Banerjī, Rajah Rammohan Raya, Justice Dwarakanath Mitra, Keshab Chandra Sen, and Roy Kristodas Pal, Bahadoor." Now, one or two of these men may have been patriots, but, certainly, not all of them.

Ramdoolal De, for instance, was a millionaire, but in no sense of the word a patriot. This may seem to many very frivolous criticism ; but they will find on reflection that it is not so. The idea that the men named here were all patriots has greatly influenced the author's style. Like most Bengali authors, Babu Amritalal Basu uses pompous or magniloquent language in season and out of season, and his natural tendency in this respect has received undue encouragement from his notion, that the men about whom he writes, occupied the exalted position of patriots in their country. A single sentence, quoted at random from the memoir of Ramdoolal De, will prove this :—

এই লক্ষ্মী ও ধর্মের বরপুত্র এই রূপে ব্রহ্মাণ্ডের একাধ
বস্তুমে সগৌরবে অভিনয় করিয়া, ১৮২৫ খৃঃাব্দের ১লা এপ্রিল
৭৩ বৎসর বয়ঃক্রম কাশে স্বীয় জীবন নাটকের শেষাঙ্ক সমাপ্ত
করিলেন ।

Which means :—Having thus gloriously acted on the vast stage of the universe, this favorite son of Lakshmi (prosperity) and Dharma (virtue) closed the last act of the drama of his life, on the 1st April 1825, in his 73rd year.

Such writing is nothing more or less than literary *acting*. And we are sorry to add, that most Bengali writing of the present day is precisely that, and nothing else. Acting is the order of the day among Bengalis. Their social reformation is mere acting ; their religious reformation is mere acting. We cannot praise a book which is only a specimen of literary acting.

Babu Amritalal Basu seems to be morally unfit to write memoirs of men. He accuses Keshab Chandra Sen of injustice and unrighteousness because of his taking over a school from its founder (p. 60). The taking over may have been, as the author says it was, an unjust and forcible seizure ; but the history of the affair is not given, and we do not accordingly understand how the act was of the stated complexion. Facts which carry with them grave charges or imputations against men, especially when they are not living, demand detailed and careful explanation, and the biographer who omits to do so, passes a verdict against himself, and compels us to turn away from him as a man who ought not to be recognised as occupying a place in the ranks of literature. We are sorry we should have to adopt such a course in regard to Babu Amritalal Basu. The idea of his work is exceedingly good, and we shall hail him with delight if he favors us with a thoroughly revised and amended edition of it.

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